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MISCELLANEOUS

STATE PAPERS.

From 1501 to 1726.

1660

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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Moſt of which are Miſtakes of the Tranſcriber of the Original MSS.

Page 22. line 6. *for* Somer, *read* Summer.
58. 15. *for* theſe with, *read* with theſe.
98. 18. *for* in what, *read* what in.
129. 1. *for* in true policy, *read* true policy.
240. 1. *dele* ſemicolon,
244. 15. *for* treaty was brought, *read* bought.
314. note *for* notice, *read* notion.
332. ditto *for* 1708, *read* 1707.
460. line 19. *for* Hodges, *read* Hedges.
483. 4. *for* ve, *read* give.
493 and 503. *for* Cape Roy, *read* Cape Raye.
493. *for* Petit Port, *read* Pent Nord.
505. *for* Cape de la Hau, *read* C. de la Hune.
505. *for* Petit Nord, *read* Pent Nord.
529. line 25. *for* Tueſday, *read* Thurſday.

MISCELLANEOUS
STATE PAPERS,
&c. &c. &c.

No. I.

Letters of King Charles I. *Lord Carliſle, and Secretary Conway, to the Duke of Buckingham.*

From the Harleian Collection.

[Buckingham was as powerful a favourite with his new maſter, as he had been with the old one. In theſe private letters, the confidence between them is unreſerved; but Charles writes in a ſtyle of compoſition very ſuperior to his father, and it is chiefly to mark that difference, that theſe letters are thought worth preſerving. It ſeems evident from the domeſtic feuds between the King and Queen, that the latter did not gain an aſcendant over her huſband, till after the death of Villiers.

The letters from Lord Carliſle and Secretary Conway ſhew the exact accounts which were ſent the Duke, during his abſence from Court, of every minute incident, whether he was immediately concerned in it or not; and the reſpectful, not to ſay ſervile, manner of addreſſing him is very remarkable, and peculiar to the degree of favour and influence in which he lived with his Sovereign, and of which we have not ſeen an example ſince.]

CHARLES I. 1625.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

Nov. 20. I WRIT to you by Ned Clarke, that I thought I would have cauſe enough in a ſhort time to put away the Monſieurs, either by attempting to ſteal away my wife, or by making plots with my own ſubjects. For the firſt, I cannot ſay certainly whether it was intended, but I am ſure it is hindered. For the other, though I have good grounds to believe it, I am ſtill hunting after it; yet ſeeing daily the maliciouſneſs of the Monſieurs, by making and fomenting diſcontentments in my wife, I could tarry no longer from advertiſing of you, that I mean to ſeek for no other grounds to caſhier my Monſieurs, having for this purpoſe ſent you this other letter, that you may, if you think good, advertiſe the Queen Mother with my intention; for this being an action that may have a ſhow of harſhneſs, I thought it was fit to take this way, that ſhe to whom I have had many obligations, may not take it unkindly; and likewiſe I think I have done you no wrong in my letter, though in ſome place of it, I may ſeem to chide you. I pray you ſend me word, with what ſpeed you may, whether you like this courſe or not, for I ſhall put nothing of this in execution, till I hear from you. In the mean time, I ſhall think of the convenient means to do this buſineſs with the beſt mien, but I am reſolved it muſt be done, and that ſhortly. So longing to ſee thee, I reſt

Your loving, faithful, conſtant friend,

Hampton Court, the 20th of Nov. 1625. CHARLES R.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

YOU know what patience I have had with the unkind uſages of my wife, grounded upon a belief that it was not in her nature, but made by ill inſtruments, and overcome by your perſuaſions to me, that my kind uſages would be able to rectify thoſe miſunderſtandings. I hope my ground may be true, but I am ſure you have erred in your opinion; for I find daily worſe and worſe effects of ill offices done between us, my kind uſages having no power to mend any thing. Now neceſſity urges me to vent myſelf to you in this particular, for grief is eaſe being told to a friend; and becauſe I have many obligations to my mother-in-law (knowing that theſe courſes of my wife's are ſo much againſt her knowledge, that they are contrary to her advice), I would do nothing concerning her daughter that may taſte of any harſhneſs, without advertiſing her of the reaſons and neceſſity of the thing; therefore I have choſen you for this purpoſe, becauſe you having been one of the chief cauſes that hath withheld me from theſe courſes hitherto, you may well be one of my chief witneſſes, that I have been forced into theſe courſes now. You muſt therefore advertiſe my mother-in-law, that I muſt remove all thoſe inſtruments that are cauſes of unkindneſs between her daughter and me, few or none of the ſervants being free of this fault in one kind or other; therefore I would be glad that ſhe might find a means to make themſelves ſuitors to be gone: if this be not, I hope there can be no exceptions taken at me, to follow the example of Spain and Savoy in this particular. So requiring a ſpeedy anſwer of thee in this buſineſs (for the longer it is delayed, the worſe it will grow), I reſt,

Nov. 20.

Your loving, faithful, conſtant friend,

CHARLES R.

Hampton Court,
20th of Nov. 1625.

CHARLES I. 1625.

Lord Carliſle to the Duke of Buckingham.

Nov. 20.

My moſt noble dear Lord,

SINCE my laſt to your Lordſhip by Mr. Endymion Porter, there hath not happened any matter of great moment or alteration here, ſaving the reſolution which his Majeſty hath taken, by the advice of his Council, for the diſarming of all the Popiſh Lords. In the execution whereof there fell out a brabble at the Lord Vaux his houſe in Northamptonſhire, wherein there were ſome blows exchanged between the ſaid Lord and Mr. Knightly, a juſtice of the peace, who aſſiſted the Deputy Lieutenant in that action, whereof complaint being made, his Majeſty was pleaſed himſelf in Council, to have the hearing of the buſineſs, and upon examination to refer the judgment thereof to the Star Chamber, the next term; but at the iſſuing out of the Council Chamber, the Lord Vaux taking occaſion to ſpeak to Sir William Spencer, who with the reſt had given information in favour of Mr. Knightly, told him, that though he neglected his reputation before the Lords, yet he doubted not but he would have more care of his oath, when the buſineſs ſhould come to examination in the Star Chamber. Herewith Sir William Spencer finding his reputation challenged, preſently complained, and thereupon the words being acknowledged, the Lord Vaux was committed priſoner to the Fleet.

In the diſarming of the Lords Recuſants, there was as much reſpect had of ſome who have relation * to your Lordſhip as you yourſelf would deſire.

The Papiſts in general here do give ſome cauſe of jealouſy, by their combinations and murmurings, wherein it is ſuſpected, that they are as fondly as buſily encouraged by the pragmatical Monſieurs;

* The Duke's father-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, was a Papiſt.

but

but his Majeſty's temper and wiſdom will be ſufficient to prevent all inconvenience which their force or paſſion may contrive. There is one Sir Thomas Gerard a recuſant, brought up hither out of Lancaſhire, being accuſed of ſome treacherous deſign againſt his Majeſty's perſon.

Rochelle is ſo ſtraitly blocked up by ſea and land, as no intelligence can be ſent into the town.

We have not as yet any clear categorical anſwer touching the reſtitution of our ſhips. As ſoon as any thing more worthy of your Lordſhip's knowledge ſhall occur, you ſhall not fail to be advertiſed from him that is eternally vowed

Your Grace's, &c.

From Hampton Court, the 20th of November, 1625. CARLISLE.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.

Gracious Patron,

THE care is nothing now ſo great to write to you, as to hear from you. The return of the Charles, wherein Mr. Johnſon the engineer was, hath ſpread a rumour of a great ſtorm you met withal, which caſt you into ſo many difficulties, and ſo far to the northward, as they could not conceive your Grace could recover Fluſhing or the Brill in eight days after they left you. But beſides that my affection, and your Grace's good fortune, can never conſent that ſuch a diſorder as ſeldom or never befel any man in that paſſage, ſhould happen to you, I find in the very relation that the great leak the Charles had, the want of a pilot, and the ignorance of all the mariners, none of them having been ſo far northward before, put them Nov. 30.

CHARLES I 1625.

them into ſuch an amazement, as they kept no reckoning with the winds, nor did they conſider what way a ſtrong ſhip, and bold upon the wind, can make; remembered their own diſtreſs, ſaw themſelves by chance upon the coaſt of England, and ſpake fearfully and doubtfully of your landing.

We have heard from Calais that your Grace landed at Fluſhing the Tueſday following your going aboard. I was ſorry to think the ſickneſs was ſo much there, and that you ſhould have a tedious broken paſſage to Holland. But I am comforted with this, that the ſame God keeps you at land and at ſea.

The French Ambaſſador * here with us, knows not which way to turn himſelf, to find contentment; he would fain have it believed, that he hath power to accord much for the public good, if it were ſought from him. He hath given an anſwer to the overture made by De Vic, in his Majeſty's name to the French King, but not ſatisfactory. He purſues his demand of the St. John, and ſome other things, which your Grace will beſt ſee by the note incloſed. He ſeems to aſſume, that his Majeſty ſhall not be refuſed in any thing he will propound to the French King concerning the Valtoline, Italy, or any public enterprize. He makes himſelf afraid leſt your Grace may fail of thoſe acceptances of your perſon, honours, and receptions, which you may look for, beſides the dignity of your condition as Ambaſſador. And withal doubts, leſt you, miſſing of thoſe eaſy paſſages, and good ſucceſſes in your buſineſs which you expect, may return offended, which he ſhould be very ſorry for; acknowledging the great powers and abilities which are in you, which worthily give you intereſt and power with your Maſter and the State. And now I have tranſlated to you the words as near as I can, you may be pleaſed to make the conſtruction by your own wiſdom. The Ambaſſador gives much trouble to the houſhold here. He hath pro-

* Blainville, a Boutefeu, and violent Miniſter.

cured

cured from his Majeſty a lodging in this houſe, and ſo his diet comes to be divided here for himſelf, and at Kingſton for his company; ſo as increaſe of ſeveral new demands come in, for wood, and coals, and twenty other things; and ſo for Madam St. George, the Biſhop, and that train, which makes the white ſtaves to ſcratch where it itcheth not. It muſt come to be examined by commiſſion; if I am one, I will never give my conſent to additions.

His Majeſty hath written to the Duke de Chevreuſe roundly, as you will ſee by the copy of the letter herewith ſent. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, that you let the Duke know, that he doubts not his good affection, nor his good offices, but writes in that manner to give him warrant, as well as occaſion, to preſs the French King the more earneſtly.

Order is gone out for diſarming the noblemen recuſants. The liſt of their names I ſend your Grace herewith; as alſo a liſt of their names, which by extraordinary recommendation were pricked for ſheriffs; and this puts me in mind to give you another account. The Deputy Lieutenants of Northamptonſhire, being Sir William Spencer, Sir Hatton Farmer, Sir Thomas Cave, Mr. Knightly, and Mr. Elwes, went to the houſe of Mrs. Vaux, to ſearch for martial munition, found my Lord Vaux there, and civilly acquainted him and Mrs. Vaux, his mother, with the purpoſe of their coming. They reſpectfully conſented to the ſearch, which was performed orderly, and no arms found. But in concluſion, a brother of the Lord Vaux (amongſt other intemperate and unadviſed terms) ſaid, that they gave to the recuſants the worſt uſage they could, except they ſhould cut their throats, and with divers oaths wiſhed it were come to that day. Mr. Knightly replied to him, there were divers ſtatutes againſt the recuſants, which they were not troubled withal; which the other denying with great oaths, Mr. Knightly alledged the ſtatute of the 20l. monthly for recuſants. And further told him, there was a late ſtatute againſt ſwearing, which put a penalty

CHARLES I. 1625.

of twelve-pence upon every oath, and told him he muſt exact that from him; to which Mr. Vaux gave an anſwer, with ill and ſcornful words. And Mr. Knightly addreſſed himſelf to Mrs. Vaux and the Lord Vaux, to make ſatisfaction for Mr. Vaux's oaths. They refuſed it, and Mr. Knightly charged a conſtable to diſtrain ſo much of Mr. Vaux's goods as would ſatisfy three ſhillings, and give that to the poor, according to the ſtatute. The Lord Vaux upon this took Mr. Knightly aſide, and told him, if he found him in another place, he would call him to a reckoning for this. To which Mr. Knightly replied, You know where I dwell, and when you have a mind to call me to account, you ſhall receive an anſwer from me, full to your demand. Sir William Spencer and my Lord Vaux went into the hall, Mr. Knightly and the reſt followed. My Lord Vaux turned towards Mr. Knightly, and putting his hand on his ſhoulder, puſhed him, and ſaid, Now you have done your office, you may be gone; Mr. Knightly turning again to him, told him he had not done, he might ſearch more; and when he had done his office, he would more willingly be gone than he would have him. The Lord Vaux gave him a good blow on the face, and they, ſcuffling together, were parted. But the Lord Vaux taking a cudgel out of another's hand, ſtruck Mr. Knightly's man, broke his head, and knocked him down. And ſo the reſt of the Deputy Lieutenants, fearing further inconveniency, withdrew themſelves, wrote up their complaint, which was heard before the King and Council; and there wanted not thoſe that favoured the Lord Vaux's cauſe, and magnified much his natural and accuſtomed modeſty and diſcretion; whereof he gave a very ill argument, giving very intemperate words at the Council chamber door, unto Sir William Spencer, upon an occaſion that paſſed before the King. The Lord Vaux was committed priſoner to the warden of the Fleet at Reading, and the cauſe remitted to the Star-Chamber. And but now I come to the cauſe that hath brought the affliction of this narration upon you: This day of hearing,

ing, was the day the ſheriffs were pricked; and Mr. Knightly was one of thoſe extraordinarily recommended, being none in the Judges bill, and never man was more perplexed, arguing that all the world would think, it was a puniſhment laid upon him for my Lord Vaux. But when he ſaw the reſt of his company, then he was like to have loſt his ſenſe. He proteſted the continual and ſole dependence he had upon your Grace, and declared his ſpeeches, and the endeavours he had uſed in the parliament, for the ſervice of the king, and honour of you.

I enquired of Sir John Cooke, and others, of him, who all juſtified his good behaviour; but he continues in the ſchool of patience, and ſeems to promiſe himſelf that your Grace will juſtify him, and repair him with the King, and all the world, when you return.

Sir John Cooke, whoſe diſcreet diligence and care make him beſt underſtand all that concerns the ſhipping and the prizes, and all things elſe worthy of your knowledge, will give you an account; and to that purpoſe, I direct this meſſenger to paſs by him, and do confeſs, that the narration of this brabble hath taken up my time and my paper, and, I am afraid, put by ſome things that had been more proper for me to have ſaid; and which is worſe, I am afraid they will abuſe your time in the reading. But I beſeech you pardon me, the rather for the puniſhment I lay upon myſelf; although the error riſe from a deſire to tell you all, and to ſerve you continually, and in all things, and that with faith and duty, and in the condition of,

Your Grace's, &c.

EDWARD CONWAY.

Hampton Court,
30th of November, 1625.

CHARLES I. 1625.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.

Gracious Patron,

Dec. 16. THE contentment I had to ſee you was ſo ſhort (the moſt juſt cauſe drawing you from Court), as I long to hear how you do, and how well you enjoy the greateſt happineſs of reſtoring comfort to the beſt wife and beſt of women, and taking to yourſelf the great bleſſing of bleſſed children, and then to repeat to you my daily morning prayer. The Lord of heaven increaſe you in thoſe comforts, and increaſe in yourſelves, and derive them from you, to your poſterity infinite ages. And this humble duty of mine, is the firſt cauſe of ſending this meſſenger my ſervant. Withal I take the boldneſs to addreſs this letter directed to your Grace out of France, and that ſent to me with it, upon which you will find two notes of his Majeſty's upon the margin; and his notes I would communicate to none living but your Grace, how ſlight ſoever they ſhould be, without his leave or commandment.

I have prepared inſtructions for Sir Edward Barrett; ſo ſoon as they are legibly written, I will ſend them to be approved, or reformed by your Grace.

By a copy herewith ſent, your Grace will ſee what directions his Majeſty hath given, and to whom, concerning his coronation.

There hath not been any thing of importance debated ſince your going from Hampton Court, ſaving whether letters ſhould be written to the Lords, to lend money by way of Privy Seal, which was uſually after the loan of the inferior ranks. And it is referred to be decided by the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Carliſle, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

His Majeſty's pleaſure is, that letters ſhould preſently go forth to every Earl and Biſhop for 200 l. and to every Baron for 100 l. becauſe

all things are at a ſtand for want of money. The Ambaſſadors preſs earneſtly to have liberty for the ſhips under the arreſt of prize. The Judge of the Admiralty wants proofs yet, to make them prize. The danger is, if the Ambaſſadors have not contentment, they will make ſtay of the goods in France, in the United Provinces, in Denmark, and in the Hans Towns; in all which places, are infinite more goods of the Engliſh, than in theſe prizes, and all the reſt of theirs in the kingdom. CHARLES I. 1625.

The Judge of the Admiralty, Sir Dudley Carleton, and myſelf, by the directions of the Lords, went yeſterday to the Dutch Ambaſſador's, and gave ſatisfaction to ſuſpend him in patience, and ſome kind of contentment, until the Lords ſhall have reſolved, both concerning the ſhips already arreſted, and for a reglement for the future.

Sir John Cooke was ſent for to have been here on Thurſday, but excuſed himſelf, and deſired me to excuſe him; which I have done, until your Grace ſhall be preſent at the approving the reglement and debate concerning the increaſe of mariners pay.

God knows, I did not mean to have drawn on your Grace's trouble half ſo far; yet with the ſame and more zealous duty, I will give your Grace this ſign, that nothing you will, paſſeth by me without due obſervation. I will remember to your Grace, you did wiſh that the queſtions between my ſiſter Conway and me were ended. I hear ſhe is now at Burleigh. In the humble acknowledgment I owe to you, if my ſiſter do deſire it, and that your Grace will vouchſafe to hear the ſtate of the buſineſs between us, which may be contracted and prepared into ſhort heads, I will be bound, in all I am worth, to ſubmit to, and perform on my part, whatſoever your Grace ſhall order in it. And in all, through my whole life, ſhow how much I eſteem the honour to be,

Your Grace's, &c.

EDWARD CONWAY.

Windſor Caſtle,
the 16th of Dec. 1625.

CHARLES I. 1626.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

I HAVE hitherto deferred writing to you, both becauſe I wanted ſubject, and I thought that you would be on your way towards me, before my letters could reach you. Now I ſend this bearer to you, as well to anſwer your letter concerning the Turkiſh Ambaſſador, as to intreat you not to ſtay upon uncertainty of winds, but come away, as ſoon as all the army is ſhipped, which I hope will be before this can come to you. Your journey to my ſiſter, and France, requires daily more haſte than other; for though my uncle * of late has had good luck, yet he needs preſent encouragement, and Mansfelt † without inſtant help, diſſolves to nothing. As for news, my wife begins to mend her manners; I know not how long it will continue, for they ſay it is by advice; but the beſt of all is, they ſay the Monſieurs deſire to return home; I will not ſay this is certain, for you know, nothing that they ſay can be ſo. So hoping to ſee you ſhortly, I reſt,

Your loving, faithful, conſtant friend,

CHARLES R.

* The King of Denmark.

† Mansfelt died in 1626. This circumſtance fixes the place of this letter, which has no date.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

I HAVE received the joyful news of your happy ſucceſs in the taking of Ré, by Dick Greame. I pray God to give you as much contentment always, as I received then; and then, I aſſure you, ye will be in no danger to die of melancholy. Beecher likewiſe gave me two letters from you, out of which I have taken ſuch notes as to know what you deſire and want, then burned them. After theſe, ere yeſternight, I have received another, all which, by this occaſion, ye ſhall ſee ſome anſwer to, though I hope to pleaſe you better in my actions than my words. I have made ready a ſupply of victuals, munition, 400 men for recruits, and 14,000 pounds ready money, to be brought to you by Beecher, who, by the grace of God, ſhall ſet ſail within theſe eight days. Two regiments, of a thouſand men a-piece, victualled for three months, ſhall be embarked by the 10th of September. I have ſent for as many officers from the Low Countries as may be had, of which, till my next, I can give you no perfect account. I hope likewiſe ye ſhall have 2000 men out of Scotland, under the command of my Lord Morton, and Sir William Balfour. So far for ſupplies, which, by the grace of God, I ſhall ſend ſpeedily unto you, and you may certainly expect. Now I ſhall give you my opinion in ſome things that Beecher has been talking with me, and that I have underſtood by your late diſpatch. And, firſt, in caſe the French King ſhould die, what were to be done upon it. My opinion is (and not without advice in it) that you are to proſecute the war, and by no means to be the firſt motioner of treaty, for it is both diſhonourable and unſafe, conſidering what men of faith the French of late have proved themſelves; but if they ſhould offer, then to hearken, but not to believe too haſtily. And, believe it, this is the beſt way to gain our chief ends; for certainly

August 13.

CHARLES I. 1627.

making ſhows, or being indeed deſirous of a treaty, before they of themſelves demand it, may much hurt us, no way help us. I have ſeen a draught of a manifeſt which ye have ſent my Lord Conway, which, if ye have not yet publiſhed, I would wiſh you to alter one point in it, that whereas ye ſeem to make the cauſe of religion the only reaſon that made me take arms, I would only have you declare it the chief cauſe, you having no need to name any other; ſo that you may leave thoſe of the religion to think what they will: but I think it much inconvenient by a manifeſt, to be tied only to that cauſe, of this war; for caſes may happen that may force me to go againſt my declaration (being penned ſo), which I ſhould be loth ſhould fall out. I have ſet three main projects a foot (beſides many ſmall), mint, increaſing of the cuſtoms, by impoſing on the book of rates, and raiſing of a Bank. The two firſt, I ſhall certainly go ſpeedily through withal; the laſt is moſt difficult, but I have good hopes of it. So going to bed, and wiſhing thee as much happineſs and good ſucceſs as thy own heart can d[illegible]e, I reſt,

Your loving, &c.

Windſor, the 13th of Auguſt, 1627.

CHARLES R.

I cannot omit to tell you that my wife and I were never better together; ſhe, upon this action of yours, ſhowing herſelf ſo loving to me, by her diſcretion upon all occaſions, that it makes us all wonder and eſteem her.

King

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

BEECHER ſtaying longer at the ſea ſide than I expected, has given me this occaſion of writing to you, which I do, rather to aſſure you, that upon all occaſions I am glad to remember you, and that no diſtance of place, nor length of time, can make me ſlacken, much leſs diminiſh my love to you, than that I have any buſineſs to advertiſe you of. I know too, that this is nothing, it being nothing but what you know already; yet imagining that we (like uſurers) love ſometimes to look on our riches, I think it is not unacceptable to you to bid you look of that that I eſteem to be the greateſt riches, and now hardeſt to be found, true friendſhip, there being no ſtile juſtlier to be given to any man, than that to me of being Auguſt 25.

Your faithful, &c.

Alderſhot,
25th of Auguſt, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

HAVING received a letter from you by this bearer, I cannot let him return empty; and indeed I ſhould much condemn myſelf, if I did let any occaſion ſlip, without remembering my love to you. At this time I have not much to ſay, but to congratulate with you for your eſcape from that treacherous blow * which was meant you; Sept. 2.

* The treacherous blow which the king mentions to have been intended the Duke, was an aſſaſſination attempted by a French papiſt or Jeſuit, with a thick three-edged knife. And a narrative thereof was publiſhed in a 4to pamphlet, as ſoon as the Duke came home, with a repreſentation of the ſaid knife in a wooden print.

for

CHARLES I. 1627.

for which I give God greater thanks than for your victory, hoping to have oft cauſe of rejoicing for the one, no more for the other; and upon this occaſion I pray you take my counſel, that for my ſake, you will truſt as little as may be any papiſtical French raſcal. Your recommendation of Halie and Coningham came too late at this time, but ye may aſſure them, that I ſhall not fail to remember them with the firſt occaſion. So praying for your good ſucceſs in all things, and (with your wife) hoping and longing for your ſafe return, I reſt,

Your loving, &c.

Whitehall, the 2d of Sept. 1627. CHARLES, R.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

Sept. 20. I HAVE received yours by this bearer Dalbier, whom I have diſpatched as ſoon as was poſſible, and to whoſe relation I ſhall need to add little; for I think he deſerves the character that you put on him, and I aſſure you, it rejoices me not a little, to hear him (being a ſtranger and a ſoldier) give ſo juſt a deſcription of your inclination (which I know to be true); that making me believe the reſt he ſays concerning your proficiency in the trade you have now ſo happily begun, which, though I never doubted, yet I am glad to ſee that truth forces all men to approve my judgment of you. Within a week after you have received this, I hope Holland ſhall deliver you another from me, therefore now I haſte to end, only I muſt chide you (if it be true that I hear), that you hazard yourſelf too boldly: This I muſt command you to mend and take care of; there being more inconveniences in it than I (almoſt) dare write, or

fit

fit for you to hear, but it is enough, that you are willed to preſerve yourſelf for his ſake, that is and ever ſhall be CHARLES I. 1627.

Your loving, &c.

Theobalds, the 20th of Sept. 1627. CHARLES, R.

This bearer will tell you that I approve all your deſigns; and be confident of what ſuccours theſe froward times can yield, which, though they cannot be according to mind, yet, by God's grace, ſhall be enough for your fortune to maintain a juſt cauſe.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

I HAVE received your diſpatch by Jack Aſhburnham, by which I have underſtood the neceſſity in which ye are, and I am much grieved and aſhamed, that I muſt make an apology for our ſlowneſs here in giving you ſupplies; the cauſe whereof is, the hardneſs of getting mariners, and the ſlow proceeding of the commiſſioners of the navy (which all commiſſioners are ſubject to) money being readilier furniſhed than I could have expected in theſe neceſſitous times; but for that our beſt anſwer is (as the ſchool-boy ſays) pardon this, and we ſhall do ſo no more; and now, by the grace of God, ye ſhall have no more cauſe to complain of us, for now we know how to prevent thoſe faults, which we, without ſome experience, could hardly foreſee. Holland, within two or three days, will attend you with ſupplies, wherefore at this time I ſhall ſay little more, but concerning the inſtructions ye ſent me for Ned Clarke, and Will. Haydon's place of the ordnance. For the firſt, the King of Denmark's Ambaſſadors being here, for an accommodation between France and me, I have ſent them away well enough ſatisfied, yet October 1.

CHARLES I. 1627.

without diſcovering my intentions; ſo that I hope my uncle will be content with my proceedings with France; Ned Clarke likewiſe having inſtructions correſpondent to the anſwer that was given the Denmark ambaſſadors; ſo that I think it needleſs, or rather hurtful, to diſcover my main intent in this buſineſs, becauſe divulging of it (which this may cauſe) in my mind, muſt needs hazard it.

John Haydon has his brother's place already paſſed unto him, ſo that ye muſt excuſe me, at this time, for Colonel Brett; yet becauſe I ſee you have ſo great a care of him, I aſſure you that, at the next occaſion, I ſhall remember him with as good a turn (though I did not know him, as I do, to be an honeſt ſufficient man) if it were only becauſe I ſee you eſteem him. Laſtly, for God's ſake, be not diſheartened with our by-paſt ſlowneſs, for, by the grace of God, it is all paſt. This I ſay not, that I fear thy conſtant ſtout heart can ſlack in an honeſt cauſe, but that ſome raſcal may caſt doubts in the army, as if I neglected you; which I imagine is likely enough to fall out, ſince ſome villains here ſtick not to divulge it. And it is poſſible that thoſe who were the cauſe of your conſultation of leaving the ſiege, and coming home (for the reſiſting of which I give thee a thouſand thanks) may mutter ſuch things. Now I pray God to proſper me but as I ſhall ſtick to thee in all occaſions, and, in this action, as I ſhall ſhow myſelf

Your loving, &c.

Hampton Court,
1ſt of October, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

SINCE I have underſtood by Jack Aſhburnham your neceſſities, for fault of timely ſupplies, I ſtill ſtand in fear (until I ſhall hear from you) that theſe may come too late; but I hope that God is more merciful to me, than to inflict ſo great a puniſhment on me. Holland can tell you all occurrences here, which I may uſe for a good excuſe of a ſhort letter; but in caſe his gladneſs to ſee you (I judge him by myſelf) may make him forget ſome things, I will remember thoſe I have moſt care of. The Denmark ambaſſadors, ſince their taking leave of me, having demanded a private audience, there moved unto me, to ſend you powers to treat with France, in caſe they could procure them to begin; their reaſon for this was, gaining of time, which, they ſaid, otherwiſe muſt needs be loſt: but my anſwer was, that it was no ways honourable for me to ſend powers to treat, before I knew France's diſpoſition to treat, it being neceſſary for my honour, that they ſhould begin, not I. After ſome diſpute, they found my reaſons good, they ending with this requeſt (which I could not refuſe, but was glad of), that they might advertiſe you from time to time of their proceedings with the French king. And to give them ſome contentment at their farewel, I told them, that in caſe they made a peace between me and France, the army that you command, ſhould be ready to ſerve my uncle, if he deſired it. Now, honeſt raſcal, though I refuſed, being demanded, to ſend thee powers to treat, yet thou (knowing my well-grounded confidence of thee) may'ſt eaſily judge the warrant-dormant power thou haſt in this, as in any thing elſe, where confidence may be placed on any man: but for fear that thy modeſty in this particular might hinder thee to remember thy power of truſt, which I have given thee, I thought not amiſs to write as I have written. October 13.

CHARLES I. 1627.

Gerbier's treaty is at an end, wherein he has ſhowed both his honeſty and ſufficiency, but mightily abuſed by the King of Spain's miniſters. So referring you to Holland, I reſt (though not in quiet, until I ſhall ſee thee ſafe and happily returned)

Your loving, &c.

Whitehall, the 13th of October, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

November 6.

I PRAY God that this letter be uſeleſs, or never come to your hands, this being only to meet you at your landing in England, in caſe you ſhould come from Ré, without perfecting your work, happily begun, but, I muſt confeſs, with grief, ill ſeconded. A letter you ſent to Jack Epſlie, is the cauſe of this, wherein ye have taught me patience, and how to ſeek the next beſt in misfortunes. This is therefore to give you power (in caſe ye ſhould imagine that ye have not enough already) to put in execution any of thoſe deſigns ye mentioned to Jack Epſlie, or any other that you ſhall like of. So that I leave it freely to your will, whether after your landing in England, ye will ſet forth again to ſome deſign, before you come hither; or elſe that ye will firſt come to aſk my advice, before ye undertake a new work; aſſuring you, that with whatſomever ſucceſs ye ſhall come to me, ye ſhall be ever welcome, one of my greateſt griefs being that I have not been with you in this time of ſuffering, for I know we would have much eaſed each other's griefs. I cannot ſtay longer on this ſubject, for fear of loſing myſelf in it. To conclude, you cannot come ſo ſoon as ye are welcome; and, unfeignedly in my mind, ye have gained as much reputation, with wiſe and honeſt men, in this action, as if ye had performed all your deſires.

fires. I have no more to ſay at this time, but conjure thee, for my ſake, to have a care of thy health, for every day I find new reaſons to confirm me in being

Your loving, &c.

Whitehall, the 6th of November, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

I HAVE written to you by Will Murray, and Montgomery, having ſent them to Plymouth, thinking you would have landed there; but underſtanding of your coming to Portſmouth, I have ſent Porter to aſſure you, our misfortune has been not to ſend you ſupplies in time, that all honeſt men cannot but judge, that you have done paſt expectation, and (if a man may ſay it) beyond poſſibility. Your letter, and my Lord of Weſtmeath's relation, has much comforted me (the firſt news of your retreat being far worſe than I thank God it is) but principally to ſee how nobly thou carrieſt it, anſwering the reſt of thy actions. As for your deſign upon Calais, I much approve of it; let me but know what is neceſſary for it, and I ſhall ſee it provided with all diligence; and for ſecrecy, I ſhall ſpeak of it to no living ſoul but to Jack Epſlie, whom I have ſent for. So referring myſelf to the bearer, I reſt Feb. 23.

Your loving, &c.

Wedneſday night.

CHARLES.

You cannot come before you are welcome, which I leave to you; the ſooner, I think, the better, at leaſt beſt pleaſing to me.

CHARLES I. 1627.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Steenie,

THIS day I have received two letters from you, but much after the order of our times, for the firſt was laſt, which made me at firſt much blame the meſſenger, but when I ſaw it was a Lord, I readily excuſed his lazineſs, for you can make no Somer. As for anſwer to your letters; not differing with you in opinion (as I do but ſeldom) it is needleſs to make any.

I have ſent you here incloſed a letter to my wife, in anſwer to one that Lodovic brought me, which was only a dry, ceremonious compliment, and anſwered accordingly; by which I ſee, that my laſt denial is not digeſted yet, which you would do well to find out (of yourſelf, without taking any notice of knowledge from me), to ſet her in tune againſt my returning to London; for if I ſhall find her reſerved, froward, or not kind, at my return, we ſhall not agree; which I am ſure cannot fall out between you and

Your loving, &c.

Friday, 23d of February, 1627.

CHARLES, R.

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No. II.

Iſle of Rhé Expedition.

From the Paper Office.

[The diſgraceful conduct of this expedition is exclaimed againſt by all our hiſtorians. Theſe original papers throw additional lights upon it; but the Duke of Buckingham's perſonal gallantry is highly, and perhaps deſervedly, extolled by his friends. It was a ridiculous vanity in him to affect the General, without the leaſt experience in the military profeſſion; and it was the height of indiſcretion to engage his maſter in a quarrel with France, when he had one with Spain upon his hands which he could not manage.

It was fortunate for Charles I. that, with ſuch inauſpicious openings of his reign, he got out of two unſucceſsful wars with ſo little perſonal or national diſhonour. The treaties were renewed with France and Spain, on equal terms, in 1629 and 1630; vide Preface to Carleton's Letters. The articles may be found in Ruſhworth, &c. It is true, that we had no ſhare in making a peace for the Proteſtants, and that we gave up (what was certainly then of no conſequence) Quebec, which had been taken by a privateering ſquadron, under a Huguenot commander, one Kirk.]

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.

Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

TO inform of particular occurrences, is, I know, the work of many, more curious, I confeſs, in thoſe obſervations, than I have been; and it may be, more at leiſure to make a relation of them. Mine are of another nature, and thoſe not many, neither July 27.

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ther do theſe affairs afford great matter for obſervation. Our General (I ſpeak it before God, and without flattery) behaves himſelf in all things with admiration, making thoſe parts appear which lay hid before, for want of occaſion to produce them. His care is infinite, his courage undauntable, his patience and continual labour beyond what could ever have been expected; his affableneſs, liberality, and courteſy, not more extolled by his own, than by his enemies themſelves: himſelf views the ground, goes to the trenches, viſits the batteries, obſerves where the ſhot doth light, and what effects it works upon the enemy; in a word, goes himſelf in perſon to places of the greateſt danger, oftner than becomes a perſon of his rank; but whereunto (beſides his own care and courage which carries him to it) he is partly conſtrained by the careleſsneſs of ſome officers. If a ſoldier want a biſcuit, or a workman a ſpade, it muſt come to his ears and paſs by his order; not that he would have it ſo, but that the defects of others in their duties, make his care and providence extend even to the ordering and providing thoſe petty things. His voice in councils he will have of no greater force than others; though his opinion is moſt commonly grounded upon better reaſons, yet he refers it to the cenſure and approbation of the reſt, with that ſubmiſſion which could never have been imagined. In a word, whether it be that he will be alone, and have no co-partner in authority, or whether it be the fault of thoſe that by their long experience in the wars might have made themſelves more conſiderable, and gotten a greater ſway, I ſee none of extraordinary credit in the army, beſides himſelf, and (I fear me) of ſufficient reputation and credit (if any evil ſhould happen to his perſon, which God forbid) to go on with our deſigns, or hardly to govern, and keep in duty, this ſmall body.

Whilſt I was at Rochelle, I underſtood of ſome unkindneſs, that had paſſed between him and Sir John Burgh, which, though I do not know for certain, yet the perſons from whom I had it,

it, with ſome other reaſons, make me ſuſpect it. The party I confeſs is a brave, valiant gentleman, and one whom the Duke of Buckingham did much rely on, but who hath been obſerved to have been too rough with the Duke, even in indifferent matters, and wherein the preciſe obſervance of martial diſcipline was not ſo material; which I could have wiſhed to have been otherwiſe; for ſuch perſons muſt be handled with tender hands. And I do not ſee, but at this time the Duke would not have borne with an indifferent uſage. Beſides, I do not ſee ſo much alacrity, nor ſo much care as at firſt on the one ſide, and on the other that adviſing with him, and calling for him, as heretofore; whereof the cauſe may be partly the place where we are in; the care, command, and authority of one of his condition, not appearing ſo much in a town, as in the field; but whether it be careleſſneſs, diſcontent, or any other cauſe, certain it is, the effects are not anſwerable to our expectation. Of this diſpoſition are ſome of our chief officers, whereof I can give no other reaſon, than their own dulneſs, fitter for a garriſon town, or the keeping of a place already gotten, than to find out or proſecute (with requiſite activeneſs) a deſign upon the enemy. The reſt of the officers, for ought I can perceive, are brave, valiant gentlemen; and had they not ſhewed themſelves to be ſo, it had gone hard with us at the landing, where, had not the valour of the captains, and other officers, the fear of drowning in moſt part of the ſoldiers (which made even Dameta to fight) and the courage of ſome few of them, with God's bleſſing, repelled the enemy, our deſign had by this time been at an end. Our chief want is of ſome able perſon about his Excellency, of the power, temper, and ſufficiency of Mr. St. Blankard, a man in this action ſo neceſſary, as we may almoſt impute whatſoever hath been done amiſs to the want of him. His Excellency's chief counſel in the martial part, is Monſieur Dolbier, a man of great experience, but not of that ſtrength of underſtanding, and other parts, as are neceſſary to thoſe

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that will have a power with his Excellency, who, had he but experience anſwerable to the reſt, would need little counſel. Another want is of engineers, we having hardly amongſt us one that can lay a battery, work in a mine, or make a trench.

Your Lordſhip will receive with his Excellency's diſpatch, a declaration, for the making of which he was pleaſed to uſe my pen. Your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to excuſe whatſoever you find amiſs in it, and particularly the hand wherewith it is written, which I have been fain to make uſe of, for want of leiſure to tranſcribe with my own hand. I pray your Lordſhip to receive the ſame excuſe for not writing more amply at this time, and in cypher, as I had intended, had not ſome other haſty buſineſs called me away.

Sir Edward Conway, and Mr. Ralph, are, God be thanked, both in good health, and cured of their hurts. Sir Edward is not yet returned from Rochel to the army, but is expected every day, with his brother that went thither yeſterday to ſee him. I will ſtrive to recompence the trouble that I have given your Lordſhip to read my ill-favoured hand, with two jeſts, the one at the landing, where an enſign running into the ſea, for fear of the enemy, a ſoldier that took the ſame way, being aſked, and rebuked for flying away, anſwered, "What, ſhall I not follow my colours?" Another, at the trenches, where at firſt it is reported, that inſtead of caſting the earth from the enemy's ſide, they did caſt it towards the enemy, which was indeed the ſafeſt way for thoſe who were at work, but not the more honourable. Thus with my humble duty remembered to your Lordſhip, I remain

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

From St. Martin's, this 27th of July, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.

My very good Lord,

SINCE Sir William Beecher's and Grime's departing, there hath been ſo little done worthy the advertiſement, that this is rather to put you in mind that we may hear from you, than to ſend you any news from hence. Your Lordſhip will have underſtood how we came to this town, where being arrived, the firſt work was to barricade all the avenues. That being done, we cauſed batteries to be made againſt ſuch parts of the citadel, as with their ordnance (which played continually upon us) did much annoy us. The next work was the trenches, wherewith we intend, God willing, to inveſt the citadel, to cut off all manner of proviſion or ſuccour from the landward; as we do now by ſea, with four or five ſhallops well armed, which lie under it at night, beſides a good part of the fleet which rides not far off. The trenches go on as faſt as the hardneſs of this ſtony ground will permit, and, I hope, ere long, to bring that work to an end, notwithſtanding the oppoſition which the enemy intends to make, at a place of advantage, where he prepares againſt our coming. That, being done, I hope they will be ſo well penned in, both by ſea and land, that they will receive no aſſiſtance from either. For all our ſhipping is ſo diſperſed round about the iſland, that unleſs ſome fatality happens which cannot yet be foreſeen, no conſiderable ſuccour can come to them. The forces left at St. Blanceau, are now come to La Flotte, to ſecure that town, to hinder the communication of the two forts lying in the midway between them both, and to refreſh the ſoldiers, which, from the time of landing, had had no ſhelter from the injury of the weather, which hath been exceedingly foul with winds and rain. July 28.

The Lord Montjoy, with his troops of horſe, beats up and down the iſland, to cut off the ſtraggling forces of the enemy, of whom

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the other night he took thirty muſketeers, and ſome horſes, ſent out by the enemy to fetch water, which we have ſent over to the main land. Thus you ſee in what caſe the army ſtands; it will not be amiſs to let you know the ſtate of the enemy, who hath two ſtrong places, whereof the beſt fortified and chiefeſt, is that which we now beſiege; that won, I hope the other at La Prée will come in at an eaſier rate. This is a place of great ſtrength, invincible, if once perfected, and in this imperfect ſtate of fortification it now ſtands in, ſo ſtrong, that the ſhorteſt way to take it, is by famine. The ground it ſtands upon is rocky, and of ſuch a continued and hard kind of rock, as the pick-axe will hardly faſten in it, which takes off all poſſibility of making of mines, had we better engineers than we have in the army. They are ſtrong in number, both of horſe and foot, their horſe conſiſting moſt of gentlemen, and their foot, of the regiment of Champagne, which in this kingdom is called the Invincible. Ordnance they have great ſtore, and thoſe very good, and excellent gunners to uſe them. Corn, ſalt-fiſh, and wine, they have in abundance, and for a long ſiege; and of all manner of ammunition and arms, more than they can uſe or ſpend. And, to conclude, a governor, that had made this the ſcale of his honour and fortune, out of which, having the Queen-mother and Cardinal for enemies, he will find no ſafety; ſo that before he will yield up the place, he will make it his death-bed; and if he cannot live, ſurely he will die in it. To this may be added, the means that are made to ſend him ſuccour, and the ſhipping that are preparing at Bourdeaux, Brouage, Blavett, St. Maloes, and other places, which, once joined, would make ſuch a ſtrength, as if they did not endanger us by ſea, yet would they ſo divert our forces, now ſcattered round about the iſland, as we muſt of neceſſity gather our fleet into one body, and ſo leave the other places naked for the enemy to come in with ſuccour, which he would not fail to have in a readineſs to put over upon ſuch an occaſion; ſo that conſidering the means they have

have within, to hold out, and the endeavours they uſe abroad to ſend to them, wherein many accidents may happen to give them opportunity, this is like to prove a long ſiege, but which ſhall be maintained by us with courage and reſolution; and, I am confident, his Majeſty will not let us want. In an army where there is a continual conſumption of all manner of ammunition and other proviſions, in this place eſpecially, which the enemy hath left bare and deſtitute of all things, there needs a general ſupply, but eſpecially of all kinds of ammunition, which your Lordſhip is intreated to haſten away, with the mortar-pieces and fire-works left behind, and the Dutchman that was expected for the direction of them. Engineers alſo, the beſt that could be gotten, and good ſtore of them, would not be unwelcome to us, and the ſooner they could come the better; together with ſhovels and pick-axes, and thoſe ſomewhat ſhorter than the former, which their length makes ſomething unwieldy. Touching the troops to be ſent us, I will make no mention; I conceive that already done, and in their way to us. Thus you have ſeen our progreſs, our ſtate, and our wants, together with the preſent condition of the enemy; it remains that your Lordſhip alſo know how we ſtand with thoſe of the religion, and the advantages we ſhould get in winning this iſland. You have ſeen by what Sir William Beecher hath brought unto you, what the anſwer of thoſe of Rochel was, what their promiſes; ſince which time, all that hath been done is, that they have ſent unto the churches of their aſſociation, without the advice and conſent of whom, it is provided in their laſt agreement, they ſhall enter into no party: and this they pretend for their delay of the declaration, together with the bringing in of their harveſt, which they would loſe, if they did preſently declare themſelves, beſides the furniſhing themſelves with ſome other commodities, wherewith being ſupplied, their union with us may be of better uſe and advantage. And theſe are their allegations, which may be true, though it be not alſo unlikely that they would gladly

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ſee the iſſue of our other buſineſs to precede their engagement. Notwithſtanding, they give us aſſurance of their affection to the union, and acknowledge the great favour that God doeth unto them, by this his Majeſty's real and powerful aſſiſtance; which that they may be fully perſuaded to be ſent only in their behalf, and the reſt of the churches, I have, by the advice of Monſieur de Soubize, made a declaration of his Majeſty's intention in that behalf, the copy whereof, and of the letter I have written to Madame de Rohan, concerning it, I ſend herewith. I have ſent the original to Rochel, there to be printed, and thence to be diſtributed to the ſeveral places where Madame de Rohan ſhall think fit. But the main point of this union, as I conceive, depends upon the ſucceſs of this enterprize, which being once at an end, a ſtrong party will come in of itſelf, which is one of many commodities that would be gained by this conqueſt. Others there are, as the impoſitions upon ſalt and wine, two of the chiefeſt commodities of this kingdom, of infinite profit to thoſe that are maſters of the iſlands, with other advantages not unknown to your Lordſhip, and fitter for our enjoying than for our diſcourſe. I hope ere it be very long, we ſhall do both, and I make no queſtion we ſhall have your beſt wiſhes for it, anſwerable to that affection your Lordſhip hath always ſhewed to the good ſucceſs and proſperity of

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

From the camp at St. Martin's, this 28th of July, 1627.

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Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

I DO not well remember where I left, in my laſt to your Lordſhip, whereof, before I could make an end, I was taken with a fit of a tertian fever, which, at that time, I conceived to have been wearineſs, or ſome other kind of indiſpoſition, but ſince I have found it otherwiſe. Whereſoever I left, I will begin with my Lord Duke's continuance in good health, and in remembrance of your Lordſhip. The enemy's chief labour in the iſland is in fortifying himſelf within his hold, as much and as faſt, as his wearied, and over-watched, and yet boaſting, troops, will give him leave, and in attempting, by all the open and hidden ways that he can deviſe, upon his Excellency's perſon, upon whoſe preſervation, he conceives (and not amiſs) the good ſucceſs of his deſign, next after God and his Majeſty, to depend entirely. To this purpoſe, the citadel makes every day divers ſhots upon his lodging (and myſelf have been many times with his Excellency, when the ſhot hath come through the chamber over which he was), eſpecially about thoſe times they imagine him to be within. Upon this day ſe'nnight a fellow was taken coming from the citadel, about whom (being ſearched) was found a chain bullet, and a little ſhort kind of dagger, the blade of it about five or ſix inches long, very broad for that length, edged on both ſides, and thoſe very keen, and a wonderous ſharp point, the handle of it longer than would ſuffice for a good whole handful, twiſted about with ſilk to take faſter hold, and a little croſs bar between the blade and the handle, to ſtay the hand and give ſtrength to the blow, which, by the ſlipping of the hand, is ſometimes weakened, and lighting upon any thing of reſiſtance, of little force; ſo that this inſtrument, guided with ſtrength, and courage equal to it, was able to pierce an ordinary armour. With this inſtrument was this fel- Aug. 14.

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low found, and, by it, judged to have ſome evil and extraordinary deſign; which, to draw from him, he was threatened with the queſtion; for fear of which he hath confeſſed, and maintained before thoſe gentlemen that came from the citadel, at my Lord Duke's requeſt, that he was ſet on by Monſieur Toiras, to kill his Excellency, who promiſed him large rewards in caſe of performance, which he perſuaded him to be feaſable. Our trenches go on leiſurely, but ſurely; and by Sunday night we hope to bring them to the water ſide, unleſs we be hindered by the enemy, who hitherto hath been reaſonably quiet: all the hurt and diſcommodity that we have received (which, God be thanked, hath been very little) from them, hath been from their ordnance, with which they make wonderous good ſhots, and, for ought I can ſee, better than with their muſkets, although there be no greater inequality of diſtance in that reſpect between them and us, than the breadth of our counterſcarps. Our trenches begin to run now ſomething near them, at moſt not above half a muſket-ſhot, and our men and theirs play continually upon one another from their works, with their ſmall-ſhot. Amongſt our redoubts, we have one of reaſonable good ſtrength, wherein we intend to plant ordnance, and the platforms are now ready for it. It will be of great uſe to us to defend and flank our trenches, and will greatly incommodate the enemy in his out-works, but will chiefly annoy him in that little ſpace of paſſage that remains open, which he ſometimes viſits by going to and fro, as the fox (in the game of fox and geeſe*) uſeth to do, when he is near his penning up. This is the ſtate of both ſides; another party there is which remains in the ſtate of indifferency, and that is the inhabitants of the iſland, which hitherto have enjoyed, generally, as much liberty and freedom, as they have ever had in the greateſt peace, ſaving of late, that having found the papiſts ſomething too buſy on giving advices, and furniſhing proviſions to the enemy, and

* I pray your Lordſhip ſtrain the compariſon no farther.

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withal exacting a little too much upon the ſoldiers, contrary to ſundry proclamations publiſhed in that behalf; an edict was made commanding them, upon pain of being uſed as enemies, to depart within ſix days out of the iſland: which edict, at their humble requeſt and ſubmiſſion, hath remained unexecuted, but not abrogated, and the rather becauſe we would have wanted their aid, in the making of ſalt and wine, and in caſting of our trenches, in which to-day they begin to work. Both proteſtants and papiſts we have diſarmed, and rated the price of victuals, ſo that we begin to have pretty markets. We have no great want of any thing yet, but if we winter here, the cold will make us find that there is no great ſtore of fuel; and after a while, the wheat of the iſland, whereof every one makes ſuch havock to feed their horſes, will grow ſcanty, this iſland yielding not enough for the uſe of the inhabitants, much leſs for our army too, which, though at a dear rate, hitherto hath been fed with the bread of this iſland, which the ſoldier found more eaſy for his teeth than for his purſe: howſoever there have not been wanting thoſe that have played reaſonably well their parts. Touching our main enemies, we hear every day of their preparations to ſend ſuccour hither, and in Oleron they have already 10,000 fighting men, whereof 4000 foot, and 500 horſe, at leaſt, are old ſoldiers. Rochelle hath not yet declared itſelf, but will ſhortly be put to it by Monſieur D'Angouleſme, who is already within their government, and within leſs than two leagues of their town, with ſome troops both horſe and foot, with which he intends to build a fort, at the Point of Coreille, near Rochelle, to bridle the paſſage by ſea, and hath already ſignified ſo much to the town, but pretending that it is to hinder the Engliſh from landing there, and this will ſhortly prove *lapis ſcandali*. Monſieur de Rohan is up in arms, and was to come to Montauban about the 5-15th of this month (which is to-morrow) with 2000 foot, and 500 horſe. We hear that the Duke of Savoy, and with him the Count of Soiſſons, are alſo coming; and beſides the diſcontents of both,

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both, I have this farther reaſon, that the Count of Soiſſons is to marry the Duke of Rohan's only daughter. What other diverſions and diſtractions the death of the French King (whereof we have advice) will produce, I know not; I hope it will not be prejudicial to our deſigns. Thus, with my humble duty remembered to your Lordſhip, I humbly remain

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and moſt devoted ſervant,

St. Martin's, this ¼th of Auguſt, 1627. HEN. DE VIC.

Sir Edward Conway is not yet returned from Rochelle. We have ſome 500 French in our army.

Duke of Buckingham to Edward Nicholas, Eſq.

Nicholas,

THERE is nothing will more advance his Majeſty's ſervice here, than a ſpeedy ſupply of victuals, and other neceſſary proviſions for his army. Whereupon I would not have you fail to continue your diligent ſolicitation of the officers to that purpoſe. But, in the mean time, to procure what monies you can of mine own, to be employed to this purpoſe; for our buſineſs now in action admits no delay, and I know my maſter cannot at this preſent levy monies in ſo ſhort a time, as will be neceſſary for us to receive ſupplies in; therefore adviſe with Dick Oliver and Fotherley about it. I can return you no more ſhips yet, until the citadel be rendered; till when, this whole iſland will take up all our ſhipping in the guard of it, being daily threatened and attempted by this King's forces, and with numerous ſupplies in relief of the citadel from the main land. And thus, with confidence of your known diligence and diſcretion

diſcretion in what may concern our own coaſts, as his Majeſty's fleet abroad, I reſt, CHARLES I. 1627.

Your's,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.

Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip hath ſeen by thoſe his Excellency hath written to you, what our preſent condition is, and how great need we have of a ſpeedy ſupply from England; and by the copy of Monſ. de Rohan's letter to his brother, what preparations both the Duke of Savoy and he make for the wars. You have alſo underſtood the ſtate of our affairs with thoſe of Rochelle, ſo that I have little left to acquaint your Lordſhip withal, unleſs it be with ſuch occurrences as are not worthy to divert you. Our trenches are now, at length, after many ſtops, and more faults, come to the water ſide, ſo that the enemy hath no ſpace left him to get out of the citadel by land, but at low water, where he muſt needs paſs by a redoubt of ours, made at the end of our works to keep that paſſage. By ſea, our ſhips are diſpoſed in the form of a half moon, within half a muſket ſhot one of the other, whereof the horns encompaſs the citadel; and about twenty ſhallops which lie every night before it, well armed with murderers, muſkets, pikes and fireworks; beſides this we have a new invention in hand, of buoying ſome maſts a pretty way from the ſhore before the citadel, to hinder the ſhallops from going in or coming out, keeping only a few boats at the end of that row of maſts, to guard the ſpaces between them and the ſhore, which will ſpare a great many ſhallops which may be employed in other uſes. The ten thouſand men whereof I wrote to your Lordſhip in my former, to be in Oleron, 14th Auguſt.

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are now reduced to a leſſer number, many of the entertained companies having been withdrawn from thence, and beſtowed in places where they are thought to be more uſeful; and the volunteers, eſpecially the horſe troops, after the cuſtom of the French, having retired for want of preſent employment. Notwithſtanding, we keep a ſtrong guard upon that coaſt, which is fallen to the charge of Capt. Penington's ſquadron; ſo that I conjecture by the enemy's proceeding, that his intention is not as yet to bring a great force in the iſland, neither are his fleets in readineſs for to do it, but only to make the citadel ſubſiſt by ſupplying it with all manner of proviſions, wherewith being furniſhed, it will hold us play a great while, there being no other way to take it than by famine, or by hazarding more men than I am afraid we ſhall be able to ſpare. And, to this purpoſe, they are preparing ſhallops in many places, extraordinarily well manned, and having many granadoes with them, which they intend to make paſs with victuals and ammunition, at what rate ſoever, having ſelected for this ſervice the deſperate crew of the Duke D'Angouleſme's army. Touching Rochelle, your Lordſhip hath underſtood by his Excellency's letter, how they are now making a work at Tadon, &c. wherein I ſhall only ſay thus much, that I cannot chuſe but wonder, that the Duke D'Angouleſme being within two muſket ſhot of thoſe works, with ſuch an army, and the fort Lewis on the other ſide, towards which they have been all this while naked, being able, if not to beat them from their works, at leaſt to incommodate them therein, neither the one nor the other have made ſo much as a ſhot at them; which makes me ſuſpect that either there is ſome intelligence between that King's Miniſters and the town, or that the King's affairs are in ſuch a weak and diſtempered eſtate, as he dares not provoke them. And though the Rochellers are men of a ſtrange, fickle, and jealous diſpoſition, yet I incline rather to the other opinion for many reaſons, which this bearer's importunity to be gone, will not ſuffer me to lay down.

Touching our army, being of that compoſition I told your Lordſhip in my laſt letter, you will not expect any notable active deſign. I think my Lord Duke hath ſent for Colonel Ogle, who may be of very good uſe here, and I know your Lordſhip can prevail with him, more than any other, to make him undertake the voyage. Councils we have ſeldom, either becauſe his Excellency finds them other than he expected, or that, in this ſtate of affairs, there is little uſe of them. I ſend your Lordſhip the manifeſt in print, to make amends for the bad writing of the former copy. His Excellency is of your Lordſhip's diſpoſition in this, that you do all the buſineſs upon the ſpur; and your Lordſhip knows, I am not commonly before-hand with mine, which makes me ſometimes to be taken tardy, as I am at this preſent, rather for want of time than of matter. Thus, with my humble duty remembered to your Lordſhip, I humbly remain

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and moſt devoted ſervant,

St. Martin's,
this $\frac{14}{24}$th of Auguſt, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

The incloſed letters coming from Spain, have been ſtaid and opened by his Excellency, who hath commanded me to ſend them to you. I have written to Mr. Atres' correſpondent, by his Excellency's command.

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Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.

My very good Lord,

14th August. YESTERDAY morning I received your ſeveral letters by Mr. Bartley, for which I kindly thank you, and intreat your Lordſhip for a continuance. I have read Mr. Montague's relation with a great deal of contentment, in his good endeavours for the advancement of his Majeſty's ſervice. Concerning the Duke of Savoy's deſign upon Geneva, I conceive it to be very unſeaſonable, and of wondrous prejudice to the action that is now in hand, which being chiefly for the reſtitution of the churches, it will be ſubject to ſtrange conſtructions, that he ſhould at the ſame time attempt upon a principal member of them, and at one inſtant join with thoſe of their party, and himſelf go againſt them. And therefore I think it not amiſs that Mr. Montague ſhould receive directions to divert him from that enterprize, by repreſenting unto him the diſadvantages it will bring with it, and how he may more uſefully and profitably employ his forces in the proſecution of thoſe deſigns, which his Majeſty hath entered into with ſo good ſucceſs, and will purſue with all poſſible conſtancy and vigour. Touching the overtures of marriage with the Count of Soiſſons, it is a thing very conſiderable, would have been entertained with more chearfulneſs, and purſued with ſuch aſſurances, as, in contemplation of the certainty, and great benefits of this alliance, would have engaged him preſently to enter into action; an act in this conjuncture of affairs of wondrous conſequence. As for Monſ. de Rohan, you will ſee, by a copy of his letter to Monſ. de Soubize, the ſcope of his intentions. How we ſtood with the Rochellers, your Lordſhip hath underſtood by my laſt of the 28th of the laſt month, ſince which time Monſ. D'Angouleſme with 6000 foot, 500 horſe, and 40 pieces of ordnance, is come within leſs than a mile

a mile of the town, where he lodges with his army. His pretence is to hinder our landing in thoſe parts, and to that purpoſe deſired them not to find it ſtrange if he built a fort in thoſe parts. This, and the ſtop he makes of all manner of proviſions from coming into the town, hath ſo alarmed the Rochellers, that they preſently ſent unto me, to acquaint me therewith, praying me to give them my advice what was fitteſt to be done, and to lend them 500 French that were in the army, to help them to ſeize upon that place, and to fortify it, which I did accordingly, and furniſhed them with arms to that purpoſe, thereby to haſten their engagement, and aſſure myſelf of thoſe men upon all occaſions. And now I underſtand, by other deputies that are come to me, that they are in hand with that work, which will be, within a few days, in a ſtate of defence, unleſs they be hindered by the enemy, which is like enough to ſit ſtill, until he receives new forces out of Poictou; and by that time I hope they will be ſufficiently provided for him. It remains now that I put your Lordſhip in mind of our preſent condition, which is ſuch, as, without a ſpeedy ſupply, will not only diſable us from gaining any thing upon the enemy, but hazard the making good of what we have already got. Your Lordſhip knows what ſmall forces we brought with us, which cannot chuſe but be much diminiſhed, having met with ſo many ways of conſumption, whereof the moſt dangerous is now at hand (the vintage). For the ſupplies that are to come out of Ireland, I have rather hope than confidence in that ſuccour, which depending upon ſo many, and thoſe ſo uncertain ways, there is little aſſurance to be given to it. Therefore I intreat your Lordſhip to haſten the other out of England, and to give order that thoſe ſoldiers that are appointed for recruits only, may have no particular officers for their conduct, but that the ſame officers which ſhall be appointed for the new companies, may alſo take charge of the recruits till their arrival, that ſo the recruits may be diſpoſed of to their true end, which is the reinforcement of the

former

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former companies, and not in making of new, which can be of no other uſe, than to draw more charges upon his Majeſty. Your Lordſhip ſees what we want, and what we rely upon, and I doubt not but you will take care for the ſupplying of our neceſſities, wherein you may come ſhort of our wants, but cannot well exceed our uſes. We have ſuch ways of employment that the more forces we have, the leſs chargeable they will be to his Majeſty; and the leſs, the more expenſive. I will preſcribe your Lordſhip no other limitations in this, than that the ſupplies which you ſend, may be every way anſwerable to your affection to

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

From the camp, at St. Martin's, this $\frac{2}{12}$th of Auguſt, 1627.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

I would intreat you to ſpeak to his Majeſty, for Sir Alexander Brett, that he may have Sir William Heydon's place in the Artillery; and Mr. Patrick Mawle, that of Gentleman Uſher, which was promiſed him by my late Maſter.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.

My dear Friend,

IT will not be enough to tell your humble ſervant hath hitherto been fortunate, except I acquaint your noble heart likewiſe, that both your ſons did ſo courageouſly contribute to it, that neither of them came off unhurt; but I thank God they are both in health, and now in no danger; neither is your humble ſervant likely to leave this country but with the eſteem of an honeſt man; and,

I am ſure, your humble ſervant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.

Right honourable, and my ſingular good Lord,

CONTRARY to my promiſe and duty, I am now again ſurpriſed; but it is no news to your Lordſhip, to ſee me fall in the ſame fault more than once, eſpecially in fault of negligence. I muſt confeſs I could never have met with occaſion that could have made my haſte more excuſable, having little elſe to write beſides the remembrance of my humble duty to your Lordſhip, to which, whatſoever I ſhall add, might have better become the relation of this bearer; with whom I mean to begin, letting your Lordſhip know, that his Excellency doth place a great deal of confidence in him, and makes him partaker of his chiefeſt Councils, for the advancement of his deſigns, not without the envy of moſt of the officers who are jealous of that privacy, as trenching (as they conceive) ſomething upon them. Your Lordſhip doth know the man and what parts he hath, by which you may judge whether any extraordinary worth in him, or the ſcarcity of able men, as ſome would have it, have approached him to his Excellency. For my part, I am not able to judge of it, but I think his activity, induſtry, and application of himſelf to thoſe things which others as able, but leſs induſtrious, look to be called unto, have made him ſo uſeful, and ſo much employed by his Excellency. The cauſe of this his voyage you will learn of himſelf, according to the directions he hath from his Excellency, who in my hearing told him (after an honourable mention of your worth and affection to him) he placed his chiefeſt confidence of his expedition, in your Lordſhip's care. Sept. 4th. Aug. 25th.

Sir Edward Conway is ſome days ſince returned from Rochelle, and is pretty well recovered of his wound. His Excellency was very glad to ſee him, and expreſſed a great deal of contentment in his

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return, which I have heard him often deſire. I ſend to your Lordſhip the copy of the ſummons, wherewith his Excellency did me the honour to ſend by me to Monſieur de Toiras, together with the anſwer, which he returned the next day, by the Baron St. Surin, who hath been often with his Excellency about overtures to be made of an accommodation of affairs between the two Crowns; wherein he hath little profited, his Excellency ſeeing ſo clear into his intentions, as it was impoſſible for the other to hide, or to get any advantage, by ſuch groſs pretences. It were too long for me to inform your Lordſhip of all the circumſtances of this buſineſs, and the means that have been propounded to bring it about. This bearer, which hath been a chief actor in it, will acquaint your Lordſhip with all thoſe paſſages. Touching Rochelle, I can better ſay they are not in peace, than that they are in war; or if it be one, it is without blows. The Duke D'Angouleſme fortified at Bongrene, and thoſe of Rochelle, near the place where they had a fort called Tadon. The Duke pretends he hath no intention to build a fort there, and indeed what he hath done hitherto, is but a line; but your Lordſhip knows that the greateſt works have their ſmall beginnings, and if it go on, will prove no leſs prejudicial than the old fort; to which this being added, will block up Rochelle entirely by land. As for the work that the Rochellers make, and which is, by this time, in a ſtate of defence, it is to hinder the Duke from making one at Tadon, where themſelves dare not build, becauſe it is ſomething too far from town, and they have but little forces to make it good. They have not yet declared themſelves, nor are they much preſſed unto by his Excellency, to whom they would be of little uſe, until we have compaſſed our deſign upon this iſland; that being done, we ſhall need no great intreaty.

Concerning the ſtate of our army, it is, God be thanked, without ſickneſs or neceſſity. Our enemy is now penned in by land, and almoſt by ſea, by means of certain booms we have laid before the citadel,

citadel, to keep all ſuccour from coming that way. They begin to be in want; and every day their ſoldiers run away from them. Monſieur Torras hath promiſed to keep it till the 10th of September after their account, and we hope he will not exceed that month at fartheſt, if we can hinder him from being ſuccoured. Our officers are now at their old ward, and they do it exceedingly well. Thus, with my humble duty remembered to your Lordſhip, I remain CHARLES I. 1627.

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and moſt devoted ſervant,

St. Martin's, 4th of September, 25th of Auguſt, } 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.

Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

WHAT I have hitherto written to your Lordſhip, hath been out of duty; this is by command from his Excellency, to intreat your Lordſhip jointly with Mr. Secretary Cooke, to enquire out one whoſe name his Excellency cannot remember, neither his condition, unleſs it were that of Provoſt Marſhal of London; only this direction he can give you (which his Excellency doth not uſe to forget) that he did good ſervice for repreſſing the inſolency of the mariners, when they came up to Whitehall, in that tumultuous manner to demand money, and as he thinks, hath ſerved in the wars; and that you would be pleaſed to ſend him over to his Excellency by the next. To this, I have nothing to add of my own, but that upon Saturday here arrived about fifty ſail of Dutch, which came here for ſalt, and have aſſured us, that his Excellency the Prince of Orange hath taken Groll. The enemy holds out as yet, though he be reduced to great neceſſities, as we underſtand by September.

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ſome that come to us daily from the citadel. This weather is very favourable unto them, and by the extrordinary rains that fall, ſupplies them with water, which they chiefly wanted. By the next, your Lordſhip will receive ſome overtures from the Rochellers, for the reglement of the traffic, which, now that they be blocked up by land, would be permitted unto them with as much advantage, and liberty, as the preſent ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs could permit, for they are very poor, and had need to be cheriſhed; and if their liberty of trade be taken clean away, they muſt either fall to the other party, or be preſently ruined; if ſhortened, they will languiſh and be leſs affected to us. I know they are a mutinous and baſe kind of people; but I ſpeak not for them, but for the intereſt his Majeſty hath in their ſubſiſtence, and the ſtroke that their adhering or falling away from our party, will ſtrike in the whole body of the religion, which is chiefly governed by this part. I know your Lordſhip is not unmindful of our poor iſlands *, notwithſtanding I will make bold to recommend them to your Lordſhip's accuſtomed care. I know the Lords are ſenſible of their preſent condition, but yet not anſwerable to their miſery, which theſe troubles between us and France have ſo augmented, by the interruption of their ſmall trade, that I proteſt to God I ſee not which way they can avoid their utter ruin, unleſs ſome means be uſed from England to prevent it by ſome relief. All the money that they had heretofore in the iſlands came out of France, from their traffic of ſtockings, which being now cut off, unleſs ſome way be found out, that may ſet the poor people on work, as that did, I ſee not how they can live. For it muſt be by manufacture that they ſhall ſubſiſt, the iſlands affording no commodities of their own to vent abroad, and having no ſhipping to tranſport foreign commodities from one kingdom to another. If the Governor be permitted to bring over money into England, as he uſually doth for his annual rents there, I do

* Guernſey and Jerſey.

not

not think there will be any money at all left in the iſland. If I ſpeak more ſenſibly of this than I ought, your Lordſhip will excuſe it, upon the affection that I owe, and which I will bear as long as I live, unto my country. One thing more I have to recommend to your Lordſhip, and that is Sir Philip Carteret's buſineſs, on whoſe ſide you ſhall find, upon examination, more juſtice than hitherto hath been conceived of his cauſe. As for myſelf, your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to think upon me when occaſion ſerves, as upon one that will always be

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,
and moſt devoted ſervant,
HEN. DE VIC.

St. Martin's, this of Auguſt-September, 1627.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.

My very good Lord,

THE hope which your laſt I received, dated from Bagſhot, the 14th of Auguſt, gave unto this army, hath bred in it an eager and impatient expectation of ſupplies out of England; ſince which time, the certain intelligence of this King's preparations for the recovery of this iſland, hath much augmented the importunity of our officers, who now give themſelves for men neglected and forgotten in England. Of the ſtrength of the French King's army, wherein is a collection of the moſt eminent and reſolute ſpirits of this kingdom; his correſpondency with Spain; and his intention to engage us in a fight at ſea, that in the mean time his boats of ſuccours may paſs the more eaſily into the citadel, this bearer will inform your Lordſhip at large, unto whom I muſt refer you for the hiſtory of particulars, and by whom I have ſent a liſt of thoſe neceſſaries, our wants continually call upon us to be furniſhed with; which

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which I pray your Lordſhip to haſten hither with all poſſible diligence. You ſhall receive likewiſe, by this bearer, the articles conceived by the Rochellers; which I ſend you chiefly to the end you may ſhew them my Maſter, without whoſe advice I purpoſe to conclude of nothing that ſhall be of conſequence or importance in this action, and partly to delay their deputies with that anſwer; that according to the ſucceſs of the war, we may either give or accept of conditions; for ſince they have declared themſelves, we now have them at a lock, and the reputation of their accord with us, will be the ſame, with all the party of the religion in France, as if the articles were agreed on betwixt us. Thus, in haſte, I reſt

Your Lordſhip's faithful friend and humble ſervant,

From the Camp at St. Martin's, in the Iſle of Rhé, the 19th of September, 1627.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

27th Sept. I HOLD it my duty to adverti ſe you, that I parted from Portſmouth Road the 16th of September, and, by the 19th, with ſome difficulty, I got to Falmouth with the reſt of the fleet, where we were driven to put in by the contrariety of winds. The 21ſt we put out from thence again, and on the 25th we arrived here in the Iſle of Rhé, with all the fleet, without any decay either of men or proviſions. And I do eſteem it for one of the extraordinary bleſſings of God upon this action, that we arrived here ſo opportunely; for that if we had ſtaid, I dare not ſay how little time longer, by all men's confeſſion, the whole action had been in great hazard. I dare not interpoſe my cenſure of this action of war, underſtanding it

it ſo little as I do; but I ſee all men full of hope and confidence, to carry the place with aſſurance, within a very ſhort ſpace, if all ſuccour by ſea in dark and ſtormy nights may be prevented; for which purpoſe here is uſed all means poſſible. There would daily run away many in the fort, if our own men did not keep them in, becauſe it is held the beſt to force them to come out all together; but in the mean time it is ſignified to them, by ſundry ways, that if they will render, they ſhall have good quarter. But yeſterday a drummer was ſent, to deſire a paſſport for a gentleman to treat of a matter of importance, but he received anſwer, that except he came to treat of rendering the citadel, he might have no paſſport; ſince when, we hear no more of them, but peradventure may do very ſhortly. It is ſo late ſince mine arrival, that I cannot yet get it reſolved, to have the ſhipping which came with me diſcharged and ſent back, and here are ſo many advertiſements given, of ſhips prepared all along the coaſts, to join with the Spaniſh galleons, to come and fight with us, as I doubt it may breed ſome ſtop in the preſent diſpoſing of the ſhips to other ſervices. For my part I can only ſay, that I did neither ſee in my paſſage any argument of a fleet amaſſed together, nor can think that the Spaniſh galleons and they can meet together, but with much ceremony and time. It would be very neceſſary, with the firſt opportunity, that hoſe, and ſhoes, and ſhirts, ſhould be ſent for the ſoldiers, and that merchants ſhould be encouraged to ſend hither of all kinds of proviſions, for which there will be means to return ſalt (of which my Lord Duke hath a great quantity already in his hands) and wines, whereof there is reaſonable ſtore, made this vintage. I ſhewed my Lord Duke the note which your Lordſhip ſent me to Portſmouth, by the King's command, concerning ſalt, which my Lord Duke tells me, he had in conſideration before my coming, and means to ſend the information of it at large very preſently. Thus, with mine humble duty remembered,

CHARLES I. 1627. membered, I beſeech the Almighty to preſerve your Lordſhip in health and happineſs.

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

This 27th of September, 1627. From St. Martin's.

WILL. BEECHER.

Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway.

3d October. I AM, by my Lord Duke's commandment, to advertiſe you of the occurrences fallen out ſince the date of this letter of the 27th of September, which goeth in this packet, by which I do advertiſe your Lordſhip of my paſſage and arrival here. On the 28th, there came two gentlemen to treat of the rendering of the citadel; who, growing into terms of delay, his Grace did give them that afternoon at four of the clock, to preſent their conditions, which they would demand, to come forth. But at four of the clock, they ſending a letter to demand time until eight this morning, his Grace finding them to ſeek delays, gave ſo much the ſtricter order, to have the watch at ſea againſt the citadel, kept with greater care. But that night being very dark, and ſomewhat ſtormy, upon the ſhooting of the ſhips, for warning of an enemy's approach at ſea, his Grace did riſe, and went to ſea himſelf, to put forward the buſineſs; but almoſt all our barks of the watch taking a contrary courſe in the dark, the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of thirty-five barks, broke through the thickeſt of our fleet, and the Admiral was taken, with divers gentlemen, priſoners therein, being ſtopt by the hawſers drawn on purpoſe between our ſhips; but fourteen or fifteen of them got through into the citadel; the reſt turned back. His Grace did upon it expoſe his perſon very far, to draw on the ſea watch to fall

in with them in the dark, and to ſet them on fire, and it cannot be excuſed, but that many of them did very ill perform their duty. Yet the next day at noon (our ordnance having kept them from diſcharging) his Grace in perſon drew forth divers of the ſeamen in boats, and ſent them to aſſiſt a fire-ſhip, which with great hazard and reſolution was ſet on fire, and put in amongſt the barks of ſuccour cloſe to the citadel, but the wind being altogether calmed, and the ſea retiring, they of the citadel, with long poles, found means to put off the fire-ſhip; and that night they were unloaded; by which I do judge the citadel cannot have leſs than a month's proviſion, having not left, before, victuals for two days. That afternoon the Colonels deſired leave to adviſe among themſelves, and to preſent their advice what was fit to be done in this caſe, as things ſtood. And all with one voice concluded, that it was fit for them to be gone; the grounds whereof were theſe, that by the late coming of their ſuccours and ſupplies, they were kept in ſuch continual weakneſs, that they could not advance their works as had been requiſite; that by the extreme duties, and the immoderate eating of grapes (which no care could prevent) the ſoldiers were ſo waſted, as there do not now remain above 5000 able men, and 2500 ſick men, and the diſeaſe runs on ſo violently, as worſe is daily to be feared. That all the induſtry which the ſeamen could hitherto uſe, hath not been able to prevent ſundry ſuccours to enter, without which the citadel had been rendered ſix weeks ſince. That their proviſions were not only waſted, but much of them ſpoiled and unſerviceable, and their corn being unground, whenſoever there grew a calm, the ſoldiers were ready to mutiny for want of bread. That their ſuccours from home arrived always ſo late, as they ſerved only to keep them in a lingering weakneſs. And that now by mine arrival, they had means to return home, which otherwiſe had been deſperate. Upon this advice my Lord Duke did reſolve once to return; but that night there arriving ſome deputies from Rochelle,

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they firſt moved his Grace, by their extreme cries and complaints, unto pity, and profeſſing to give his Grace the uttermoſt aſſiſtance which their poverty and their preſent eſtate might afford, being preſſed on all ſides by the King's army, where he is now arrived in perſon. It was reſolved the next day, by advice, that we ſhould prepare all things as much as might be, for a departure, but to ſuſpend the execution until his Grace might hear from Rochelle, what might be done by them. On this day, being the 3d of October, arrived Monſieur de Soubize, and four deputies from Rochelle, who make offer to take 1000 of our ſick men into their town, to ſend 500 of their men hither, to help to bear the duties here, to provide us with meal for our corn, that we may have a proviſion of bread before-hand; to ſend us hither more ſmall barks, to help to make our guard ſtronger at ſea. The inhabitants likewiſe of the religion in the iſland, offer to take off the reſt of our ſick men, to put 500 men in arms to aſſiſt us, to ſtrengthen likewiſe with their men and boats our guard at ſea. His Grace likewiſe, upon a more exact ſurvey of his victuals, hath taken a courſe to lengthen out his proviſions, and to ſend out ſome of his ſhips, to diſſipate the preparations of farther ſuccours. And upon theſe grounds, it was this day reſolved by general conſent of all but one, to expect here our ſuccours from England. I am therefore, by his Grace's command, to deſire you to uſe all poſſible induſtry for the ſetting forward of my Lord of Holland's, and my Lord of Moreton's regiments; and to move his Majeſty and the Lords to ſend, with all ſpeed, ſuch ſupplies of meal, victuals, and apparel, as he hath formerly written for; and to ſend likewiſe for fuel, great ſtore of ſea-coal for ballaſt, which will be very neceſſary for the ſoldiers in theſe cold ſeaſons. It would be likewiſe very neceſſary, that merchants of all parts ſhould be encouraged to ſend hither all ſorts of proviſions, for which they may either have money here, or a return of ſalt and wines, of which his Grace hath already great ſtore in his hands. I am commanded

manded to desire you, to hasten back this bearer Mr. Griffin. So, with mine humble duty remembered, I pray God to keep your Lordship in good health and prosperity. CHARLES I. 1627.

Your Lordship's most humbly at commandment,

From St. Martin's, this 3d of October, 1627.

WILL. BEECHER.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway.

Right Honourable, and my singular good Lord,

THAT I have not written to your Lordship by Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. Griffin, I humbly pray your Lordship accept of this true excuse, that my absence from the camp, being employed in a continual service for his Excellency in other parts of the island, made me ignorant of their departure, the suddenness whereof surprised many others besides me, desirous enough, and far nearer than myself, to have laid hold upon those occasions. Since which no other occurrences have happened, but what are ordinary in all affairs, especially in the wars, changes and alterations, as of the state of affairs, so of councils and resolutions. It was impossible for me to have imagined so sudden and so great a change as I saw in us upon the coming of the last succour of the citadel. Such an alteration there was upon that unhappy accident, of joy into sadness, confidence into despair, triumphs to retreats, as I could hardly conceive the same spirits had been capable of so much contrariety. I have too honourable an opinion of us, to attribute this unto fear, but it was very like it, and of many, but questionless undeservedly, thought to be so. Neither do I think it a longing in some to return home to their wives; I hope we have none so uxorious; or impatiency in others, to be a little scanted in fresh 12-22d Oct.

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meats, and desirous to eat Christmas beef at home; our own courage, the honour of our nation, his Majesty's service, and the very example of the enemy, teach us better things. I rather attribute it to the care of our officers, who considering our men died apace, and like to fall more and more by means of sickness, hard duties in this winter time, together with the ability of the enemy to subsist long, both by what they had already received, and (notwithstanding all we could do) would come in daily, by the opportunity of storms, which in this season and country are not scanty, thought fitter for his Majesty's service, to make a voluntary and safe retreat, than to hazard a forcible and shameful expulsion by the enemy, and our own necessities. But the incomparable courage of his Excellency had overcome all these difficulties (though pushed home unto him with so much plainness, and in unfit places, to which he opposed all the arguments that wisdom, valour, entireness of devotion and affection to his prince and country, and sense of the distressed and lamentable condition of the poor churches, by such a desertion, could suggest unto him,) had not a more forcible argument, the consideration of want of victuals, represented unto him by those he could not but believe in that point, but who were themselves deceived in it, made him to assent unto it. Hereupon order is taken for a retreat, the place where we landed, fortified to secure us in it, the ordnance embarked, all but our small drakes, the sick, some sent to Rochelle, some aboard the ships, all unnecessary things embarked, and nothing left ashore that might become a prey to the enemy. In this state were we, though resolved not to depart, till our own necessities, or the conquering sword of the enemy, should compel us to the last refuge of embarking, when (upon examination of our provisions) our stores being found otherwise than was imagined, and Mr. Dolbier coming with news of speedy supplies, the resolutions of a retreat presently changed into those of staying, and biding it out, made it evident how much his Excellency was against

againſt the former. Here we are, and intend to remain as long as our own proviſions, and all the ways we can uſe to lengthen them, will enable us; when that is done, you will not think it our fault if we come to you. If I can get any time, I will venture to make a paraphraſe upon this letter, but I cannot do it without hazard, for want of my cypher, which, with my money and other things, have been ſtolen from me in my abſence. Thus, with my humble duty to your Lordſhip, I remain

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Your Lordſhip's moſt humble

and moſt devoted ſervant,

From St. Martin's,
this 12-22d of October, 1627.

HEN. DE VIC.

CHARLES I. 1632.

No. III.

From the Paper-office.

Papers about a ſecret Treaty with the Flemings.

[This private negociation between Charles I. and ſome principal members of the States of Flanders and Brabant, has been paſſed over in ſilence by the numerous hiſtorians of his reign. That Prince, in the weak ſtate of his government, was little able to ſupport ſo bold an undertaking, and in his foreign meaſures he was undetermined whether to take part for or againſt the houſe of Auſtria; conſequently could have no real weight with any of the great Catholic powers.

Sir Belthazar Gerbier, who, on the breaking out of the civil wars went into the Parliament ſervice, publiſhed after the King's death, a pamphlet called the Non-ſuch Charles; in which he accuſes Lord Cottington with having betrayed the ſecret to the Court of Madrid, whilſt the treaty with the diſcontented Flemings was depending. That noble Lord, faithful as he was to his Maſter's intereſt through his whole life, was as ſtrongly attached to thoſe of Spain, where he choſe to turn Papiſt, and end his days after the King's execution. Vide Clarendon.

Gerbier had been maſter of the Horſe to the Duke of Buckingham, was a great virtuoſo, and patronized Rubens and Vandyke; he was reſident many years at Bruſſels, was acquainted with the intrigues of that Court, and tranſmitted very material intelligence from thence.

There is a letter from him amongſt Thurloe's papers wherein he directly charges Lord Cottington with the treachery abovementioned, a ſofter term cannot be given to the fact.

For

For more particulars about Gerbier, the reader is referred to Mr. Walpole's very elegant and uſeful work on Engliſh painters and artiſts, vol. II. which all lovers of taſte and vértu muſt wiſh to ſee completed.]

Extracts from the relation of Mr. Gerbier's account given to his Majeſty of the ſtate of the Catholic States.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

HAVING no news of my letter of $\frac{16}{6}$th laſt, written to your Majeſty in cypher, I ſhall endeavour in this to touch the buſineſs of importance, for the which I ſhould have gone into England. This bearer being an expreſs, and ſure meſſenger, I ſpare writing in cypher. Auguſt 14th.

Theſe ſtates ſpiritual and temporal, perceiving that the Spaniards are no more able to ſupport and defend them and their religion, had reſolved (as appears in my diſpatch of the 12th of June) that in their aſſembly appointed for the 20th preſent, They would make not only a general proteſtation againſt this government, but alſo, in caſe that * Maeſtricht were loſt, undertake the care of the State, making themſelves Free States; drive out the Spaniards, contract alliances with their neighbours, and a peace with the Hollanders; which reſolution was neither ſudden nor accidental, but premeditated of a long while, and therefore of more force.

And conſidering what good ſtroke France had therein, I have not failed to have a careful eye thereunto; that nothing might be neglected which concerned your Majeſty's glory, and the intereſt of your kingdoms. I have acted my part, without putting myſelf in the poſture of a monopolizer, having only hearkened unto what paſt.

* Then beſieged by Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange.

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The Infanta and this Spaniſh Council were aſtoniſhed at the dangerous conſequences which (as I have written in my diſpatch of the 26th) cauſed the adjournment of the ſaid Aſſembly; which hath notwithſtanding in no manner diminiſhed the firſt reſolution of the States, who expect only till the ſurrender of Maeſtricht, knowing it is then in their power to oblige the Infanta to a convocation of the aforeſaid States; if not, they will aſſemble of themſelves. But indeed, the great want of monies moved the Infanta to declare their aſſembly for the 10th of July paſt, as alſo for to keep the States in a good temper. Which determination notwithſtanding was changed on the 11th, by reaſon of advertiſements the Infanta had received from Nicolaldy in England, and another, that theſe States reſolved to ſhake off the Spaniards, and make themſelves free; that there was only the Duke of Arſcot faithful and conſtant to the King of Spain; that therefore the Infanta ought to have a very great care therein. The Infanta ſummoned thereupon the States to a ſecret Council, and therein ſhewed them the letters, in which there was ſet down in expreſs terms, that upon ſome conference between perſons in England, advertiſement was given, that upon the loſs of Maeſtricht, theſe States would caſt off the Spaniſh government. The Infanta ſhewed the ſaid letters to Sir Peter Rubens, who told me, that they bore ſuch information as would hazard the lives of many in theſe countries. Which particularities I thought myſelf bound to ſet down.

But as concerning the States, their reſolutions being grounded on what was wrought by France upon their diſpoſitions, they ſtick faſt unto their firſt point, which is to procure a new form, although the remedy (whereunto their long labours and pains do carry them) may be in itſelf, for the novelty, as dangerous as the evil; as the hiſtories of the practices of the Duke D'Anjou do witneſs; that if they be carried to an inſurrection, it would facilitate the conqueſt France doth ſeem to hope for; for which end the French have won unto

them

them the chief of thoſe whoſe intereſts beſt agree with France, and who will ſtir any requiſite time.

The particularities and deep ſecrets were communicated unto me by a perſon diſguiſed, who had taken an hour in the night for to ſpeak unto me; which perſon I muſt needs judge to be of worth; his ſtrong arguments and prudent language bearing ſufficient proof. He ſpoke as in the name of a whole body, which aimed to be ſupported by an alliance with England, for to counterbalance France; who inſtead of a confederacy, prepared means to bring theſe provinces into ſubjection; which to prevent, the ſupport of England was conceived the ſtrongeſt remedy, and therefore was deſired I ſhould procure, under your Majeſty's hand and ſeal, power for to hear (under profound ſecret) what was ſo conſiderable, that ſhewing my authorization, and engaging my word for ſecrecy, I might know not only the party, but be ſure it was no French. This party (as the ſaid perſon told me) being in no ſmall emulation with the other for points of honours, expecting no leſs from your Majeſty, than as the King of Spain had honoured them with the Fleece, they might have to wear the Garter, as a mark of dependency of honours, and to be even with thoſe who ſhould be honoured with the order of the Holy Ghoſt.

I was very attentive unto this diſcourſe, my mind ſtill fixed on the proverb *Diffidentia eſt mater prudentiæ*, not being certain but that this perſon might be ſet on purpoſely to ſound me, if England was deſirous of the ſubverſion of the Spaniſh government.

Wherefore, my firſt anſwer was with admiration, feigning not well at firſt to comprehend their deſign, and with much difficulty theſe high reſolutions, leſs their ſucceſs, conſidered the troubles paſt and preſent amongſt them, intimating thereby that I lived not here to forge factions; but that withal, England ought to be accounted as their beſt and moſt conſiderable neighbourhood, both for its ſituation, ſtrength by ſea, commerce and affection of the people,

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who have always lived in good intelligence with theſe countries; being from France whence all the ſtirs proceed, as the hiſtories do bear record. The ſaid perſon promiſed then, that, upon the procuring of my authorization, he would make known himſelf, deſiring that no time might be loſt. Conſidering therefore the advantages your Majeſty might reap hereby; and, on the other part, how prejudicial it would be to your Majeſty, that France ſhould procure a primitive alliance with theſe States, if not the conqueſt; which would render France too potent a neighbour; I thought fitting to advertiſe your Majeſty thereof in theſe terms; and believe your Majeſty will approve that, upon this conſideration, I ſet down thoſe of Queen Elizabeth in the years 1576-77, and 1578, who by a ſingular prudence laboured to hinder this people from caſting themſelves under the protection of France. Which conſiderations I thought fitting to ſet down theſe with particularities. And ſeeing the lives of great perſons might run hazard by the diſcovery of theſe deſigns, I find myſelf bound in charity and loyalty not to communicate them any farther than to your Majeſty, who may impart them unto your prudent Council, as in your royal wiſdom ſhall be thought fitting, it being the requeſt made by the ſecret party.

Your Majeſty may be pleaſed to weigh the glory which will redound unto your Majeſty from this alliance; which excluding the Spaniards for ever from this part of the world, will ſerve as an aſſured rampart to other countries, neighbours and allies of your Majeſty, and free them from any change or invaſion.

Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to let me be inſtructed of your royal pleaſure herein, that I may know how to purſue this buſineſs, leſt theſe people through deſpair caſt themſelves away immediately by France.

I touched in my diſpatch of the 21-31ſt of Auguſt, the buſineſs of Bouchain, in which plainly appeared the deſigns of France; who, when it came to the puſh, did, as it were, ſtep back, moved there-

unto either for not being ready, or not reſolving a breach with Spain, or expecting the taking of Maeſtricht. On this occaſion of the buſineſs of Bouchain being diſcovered, the French Reſident, Monſieur Berüyer, was commanded from Bruſſels.

I touched in my diſpatch of the 4th of September to his Majeſty, what followeth:

The buſineſs contained in my diſpatch unto your Majeſty of the 14-4th of July, advanceth very much; ſo that I fear your Majeſty's inſtructions will not come ſo ſoon as I ſhall ſtand in need of them, the buſineſs being ſtill in the ſame eſtate, inclining to your Majeſty; for ſome of theſe States are in great ſuſpicion and jealouſy of France, whence the reſolutions of theſe to a revolution were fomented.

I can aſſure your Majeſty, that theſe States offer to put into my hands, abſolute means to render your Majeſty maſter of this buſineſs, to the excluſion of the French; ſo that in caſe the Spaniards obtain not a truce, they will find themſelves excluded for ever from theſe countries, &c.

I touched in my letters of the 12th-2d of September to his Majeſty, what followeth:

Your Majeſty will underſtand by the note incloſed in my letter to the Secretary, that within few days I ſhall be able to give an account of all that is paſſed; in the interim, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to know, that all goes on very currently, and can receive no change, but by the death of the King of France, bruited here in great danger. God forgive the givers of information from England, for thereby the ſecret ſuffers violence; which muſt needs be, ſince Nicolaldy could write to the Abbot D'Eſcaglia, that I had aſked leave to come unto your Majeſty, and that the order was ſent me.

I touched in my diſpatch of the 21-11th of September to his Majeſty, what followeth:

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In my laſt of the 22d, I wrote, that, by this extraordinary, I ſhould give an account of the great buſineſs. Your Majeſty's commiſſion by him to me, came very ſeaſonably for to countenance my endeavours, that France ſhould not draw this people under her ſubjection, upon colour to protect them.

In my laſt letter of the 14-4th, were ſet down my firſt anſwers to the perſon diſguiſed, which anſwers were with caution, for to prevent all ſubject of ſuſpicion in the King of Spain's Miniſters here, of forging factions with this people; which caution was alſo neceſſary not only to diſcover whether theſe overtures were not made on ſome other deſign, but to get time to be informed of your Majeſty's pleaſure. The ſaid perſon continually preſſed me to know whether theſe States might aſſure themſelves of your Majeſty's good-will towards their preſervation, and conſequently to aſſiſt them. My anſwers were ſtill reſerved, which the party perceiving, gave me to underſtand, that France had made a ſtrong party amongſt them; and to make me ſee it plainly, offered to ſhew me the commiſſion of the French King, for negotiating the revolution, invited me to a place in the country where I ſhould meet with perſons of quality, who would ſhew me the ſaid commiſſion, and aſſure me of the aforeſaid reſolutions. He told me the commiſſion bore theſe words, "Nous authoriſons le porteur de la preſente pour donner telles aſ-"ſeurances a nos chers et bien aymés amis et voiſins les eſtats du "pays bas, que ſeront neceſſaires pour leur ſeureté et preſervation;" and that the cauſe he was ſo earneſt with me was, the different diſpoſitions amongſt them, which, beſides the contradictions and differences of minds, might at length breed a jealouſy and diſtruſt one of another, and ſo overthrow the buſineſs; concluding that they feared to fall under France, and would labour as much as they could to prevent it.

I conceived this buſineſs to be of dangerous conſequence; for by reaſon of diviſion that might fall amongſt them, it would be hard keeping

keeping of the ſecret; but that it was alſo requiſite your Majeſty ſhould not be excluded from this alliance to counter-pace France; wherefore I have been watchful that nothing might eſcape my knowledge of what was plotting amongſt them, both concerning that buſineſs and the truce, of which two points I ſhall make an ample relation in this letter, and do hope your Majeſty will approve this courſe I take, conſidering this reſidence is different from thoſe of France, Venice, Savoy, Holland, and ſuch like; by reaſon of their common intereſts, it is eaſy to diſcover what is in agitation amongſt them; but the preſent conjuncture of affairs in theſe parts, being quite contrary to thoſe of the reſt of Chriſtendom, makes that they are here diſtruſtful of every one, even of many amongſt themſelves; ſo that, without a plauſible pretext, it were hard to walk in this labyrinth. CHARLES I. 1632.

For the firſt part, my anſwer to the perſon (upon the point of ſhewing me the French King's authorization) was, that I could hardly have conceived the buſineſs was come ſo far; and wondered to ſee they were ſo nigh to a new ſubjection; and ſhould have forgotten the troubleſome practices of a Duke d'Anjou. Yet ſince it were ſo, they were in as ill a caſe as if conquered by the Hollanders, who offer liberty of religion: That although I had no power from your Majeſty to offer what they might expect from England; yet, upon aſſurance of their reſolution to be ſuch as was declared, I could aſſure them of ſo ſtrong a ſupport as they ſhould not need to loſe themſelves willingly: That as for the ſtrong motion the French affected party doth cauſe in their body of States, ſince they could not be ſevered, it were expedient to counterbalance it by England. Hereupon it was reſolved that I ſhould ſpeak with ſome perſons of quality; but the place being remote, I took ſome days to reſolve, and furniſh me with a ſufficient pretext, which happened very fortunately as followeth.

Your

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Your Majeſty may pleaſe to know that the Abbate d'Eſcaglia * hath often diſcourſed with me of the King of Spain's inclination to reſtore the Palatinate, and that there was means for to accommodate the point of the electoral dignity, in caſe your Majeſty could prevail for a truce, which the King of Spain will have at any price ſoever. The Abbate d'Eſcaglia was confident your Majeſty might procure it, the more Sir Peter Rubens did aſſure the Prince of Orange, and divers of the chief towns were inclined for truce. The Abbate continuing in this diſcourſe, witneſſed to reſent the ingratitude of the Hollanders, if, after ſo many aſſiſtances from England, they ſhould refuſe to hearken to a treaty by your Majeſty's mediation, which your Majeſty might, with great advantages of your allies, the truce being made by your Majeſty; and therefore the ſaid Abbate d'Eſcaglia wiſhed I had ſome correſpondent with the Prince of Orange and the States, that, as of myſelf, I might make them ſenſible, what glory it would be to them to make the truce by Via regia.

I made uſe of this diſcourſe for to frame me a pretext, though his diſcourſe in itſelf ſeemed full of craft, jealouſy, and ambition; craft, in that, may be, the ſucceſs of Sir Peter Ruben's negociation may be doubtful, and therefore theſe would have two ſtrings to their bow; jealouſy, in that Sir Peter Rubens had procured power to treat, the Duke of Newburgh, and ſome of the principal ones here, excluded; ambition, for that the Abbate d'Eſcaglia (the truce thus procured) would carry the glory. I anſwered, that I had intelligence with an ancient friend reſiding for the States at Liege, and that I would not ſtick to go thither myſelf, provided it were kept ſecret. The Abbate faſtened on this hook, and believing I would undertake this journey for to perſuade my friend to deal with the Prince of Orange, that this treaty might be by Via regia, diſcovered unto me, from point to point, the negotiation of Sir Peter Rubens,

* A very intriguing Miniſter from Savoy.

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what towns ſtood for truce; and finally, that the buſineſs was now in the States hands. So that the ſaid Abbate, after this free communication, with knowledge of the Infanta (under great ſecrecy) procured me a ſafe conduct, which ſerved to a double benefit; for by this means there will be nothing done in the truce without your Majeſty's knowledge; and I have ſpoken (without ſuſpicion) to the perſons (two of their names in this incloſed paper) and have ſeen the French King's commiſſion.

The perſons declared unto me the conſtancy of their reſolution, that their deſigns were not only to eſchew the French ſubjection; but that the revolution ſhould be by the whole body, and not of particular members, leſt they might incur the cenſure of rebels. Their aim is, that, through the ſupport of England and France, they might live as Free Catholic States, and, by virtue of that quality, treat a peace with the States of Holland, excluding the Spaniards for ever from this part of Chriſtendom. So that after I had ſeen the commiſſion of the French King, I thought fitting to ſhew that from your Majeſty, for to confirm them in the aſſurance of a ſtrong aſſiſtance, which was able to counterbalance France.

I repreſented unto them the affection, equity, and generoſity of your Majeſty, which moved your Majeſty to this charitable offer of aſſiſtance for their preſervation; and for to draw them out of the precipice wherein they were plunged. By this means your Majeſty could not be *devanced* by France, nor fruſtrated of ſo conſiderable an alliance, having procured to themſelves the pretended liberty; to which end they procured the hand-writing of the Prince of Orange and the States, wherein was promiſed, that whenſoever theſe ſhould aſſume unto them the qualities of States, thoſe of Holland did oblige themſelves to treat with them, in caſe theſe States had no army; that the States forces under the Prince of Orange ſhould ſupport them, and cauſe the plauſible pretext for the Revolution, ſeeming conſtrained to an alliance with Holland, for the preſervation of the

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State and religion; and by this means bear the quality of redeemers of their country; and not become new examples of rebels, as the Counts Horne and Egmont were termed. Theſe are their thoughts, projects, and reſolutions; and though your Majeſty hath knowledge of them, ſure it is, the King of Spain can take no exception, whenſoever the buſineſs ſhould be divulged. This relation will ſeem tedious, yet, I hope, not diſapproved, that I can give an account of all theſe particularities, conſiſting in two principal points. The firſt, my proceedings before I received your Majeſty's commiſſion, which was with ſuch reſervation as your Majeſty's intereſts required, that this great buſineſs might be carried with your advantage; yet ſo that Spain could not reproach your Majeſty's miniſters to have contributed to this revolution.

The ſecond point is, concerning my proceedings, ſince your Majeſty's commiſſion received; the pretext I uſed for to ſee thoſe perſons, whom I aſſured of your Majeſty's royal diſpoſition; and by this interview, diſcovered the ſtate of the treaty of truce, and fully inſtructed myſelf of theſe States deſigns; who, as I aſſure myſelf, are retired from the way of ſubjection, wherein the craft of France, and diviſion among themſelves, had engaged them; ſo that, as your Majeſty ſaith very well, the King of Spain ought rather to thank your Majeſty for having hindered this people from caſting themſelves into the hands of his enemies and rebels. This buſineſs being in theſe terms, it is my part to be watchful; and the part of theſe States to put themſelves in terms ready for the alliance and protection of their friends; which effected, your Majeſty's friends will be aſſured, and the Palatinate the freer from invaſions.

The eccleſiaſtics have been the moſt reſolute for the revolution; who, had it not been for the difference of religion, would have embraced your Majeſty's alliance, without ſeeking any further.

The means theſe will uſe for their declaration is to procure refuſal of truce from the Hollanders, and not to treat with theſe, unleſs

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in quality of Catholic Free States, not under the Spaniſh ſubjection, that ſo the revolution may have neceſſity for a pretext; and as before they demanded a general of their country, theſe States now deſire power to ſend their deputies to treat with the Hollanders in their own name, reſerving the dignity of the King of Spain. CHARLES I. 1632.

The French affected party propounded to depute into France, upon pretext to procure that the French King ſhould ceaſe giving aſſiſtance to the Hollanders, and procure a peace for them; which fair propoſitions ſhould ſerve only to amuſe the Spaniards, whilſt Count Henry de Berghes ſhould come into the field. In the interim theſe States cauſed ſome papers to be thrown, the copies go here incloſed, with the printed ones of the States of Holland, which have wrought ſuch effect, that every one hath here in his mouth, Out Spaniards.

I touched in my diſpatch of the 15-25th September to his Majeſty what followeth:

I am informed that theſe States will treat with me openly, which I will ſeek to hinder, for the cenſure may be made thereof; but in caſe I could not avoid it, it ſeems neceſſary that I were informed of your Majeſty's pleaſure, whether I ſhould not declare the buſineſs unto the Infanta in this manner;

That her Highneſs knowing the miniſters of Kings to be as royal centinels, and bound to give an account of what they ſee and hear: that their dwellings are open palaces, whence none can be excluded, her Highneſs ſhould not marvel that I have not been able to ſhun the viſits of theſe States, come unto me without being invited: that, by their diſcourſes, I have perceived their fears and deſpairs to be ſuch, that it is likely they muſt fall under the ſubjection of a neighbour, to the great prejudice of their prince: that therefore I could not chuſe but hear what they ſaid, and give account thereof to the King my maſter. And knowing his Majeſty's royal and ſincere diſpoſition towards the preſervation of an inviolable friendſhip with your High-

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neſs, thought it my duty to make this declaration; to the end my actions may appear conformable to his Majeſty's pleaſure.

Upon which conſiderations I muſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that I may know your royal pleaſure by an expreſs; for I doubt not but I ſhall have occaſion to return him ſpeedily.

I touched in my diſpatch 3-13th October, that the buſineſs, foraſmuch as concerneth his Majeſty's intereſt in alliance, did require to be watchful of the further proceeding, although the party of the Brabant States (which before did ſo deſperately incline towards France) was ſo overcome, that his Majeſty could not fail to have as much ſhare in the alliance with them as France, if not more.

And whereas I had touched, in my diſpatch to his Majeſty of the 28-18th October, of the ſudden fears the States of Brabant had conceived, from a rumour ſpread, that his Majeſty had ſent to Spain offers of a potent aſſiſtance, and alſo to the Infanta; the States pretended juſt cauſe of apprehenſion, having truſted their deſign to his Majeſty. Their deſire was, his Majeſty would condeſcend to a comfortable meſſage to be made to their whole body, that ſo they might be aſſured of his Majeſty's intentions; and becauſe the King of Spain ſhould have no juſt cauſe to miſtake the ſaid meſſage, they deſired it might be in the ſenſe following:

That his Majeſty was ſenſible of the troubles of theſe provinces, which his Majeſty did behold with an eye of tenderneſs and amity, fixed on the good correſpondence of his dear brother the King of Spain; and that, not only by the example of his anceſtors, but by a particular inclination to the conſervation of good neighbourhood, his Majeſty was moved to let them underſtand his good inclinations to contribute to their comfort, reſt, and tranquillity.

The States of Brabant ſide deſired this meſſage as aforeſaid, to rectify the opinions of thoſe of their body, which were poſſeſſed with fears that his Majeſty intended to give a powerful aſſiſtance to Spain, whereby theſe provinces would remain *ſedes belli*. That the depu-

ties at the Hague, poſſeſt with theſe fears, ſhould not be violented to enter into ſome ſecret accord with the States of Holland, to join themſelves as members of one body; unto which the clergy and nobility of the Brabant ſide could not reſolve, without an apparent danger of ever to be loſt. Theſe fears were removed, as in my diſpatch of the 11-21ſt November to his Majeſty appeared; and although his Majeſty did not judge the meſſage fit until theſe ſaid States ſhould appear to be in condition, which might take away all jealouſy, the ſaid States, as touched in my diſpatch of the 4th December to his Majeſty, were well ſatisfied with the ſaid ſecret anſwer, eſteeming his Majeſty's prudence, and royal generous mind, on which they would truſt, and approved his Majeſty's ſettled reſolution, whereunto they would correſpond, in putting on the quality whereby their alliance would be advantageous to their neighbours; ſo that there remained, for my part, but to be a watchful centinel on the proceedings, and at the inſtant of their declaration and condition of Free States, to offer them his Majeſty's alliance, not to be preceded by France, if poſſible might be.

I touched, in my diſpatch of the 27-17th December to his Majeſty, that ſince the aforeſaid diſpatch of the 4th of December there appeared nothing in my letters concerning the revolution of theſe States; which was to be attributed to the great alterations in Germany, cauſes that the States of Brabant ſide were incapable of any other thoughts than thoſe concerning the truce, their only refuge and ſafe-guard.

I touched, in my diſpatch of the 8th of January 1633-2 to his Majeſty, what followeth:

The main and moſt confident correſpondent being in the country, is the cauſe I ſhall not ſay much for this time, only add to what I touch in my public diſpatch. Theſe States have reſolved not to ſuffer themſelves to be diſſolved. They will take for pretext, that

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their aſſembly is neceſſary for the preſervation of the State; their treaty of truce taking no effect.

Theſe States have drawn little comfort from the bonfires lately made for the overthrow (as they ſay) of the King of Sweden's army; taking the ſaid bonfirés only as a ſhew, whereby the Spaniards amuſe the common people; not that the ſtate of affairs be for them the better for it; and therefore remain poſſeſt with a panic fear, not knowing to have a ſafe refuge (in caſe the truce were not made, and that the Hollanders take the firſt of the ſpring to attempt ſome new enterprize) unleſs to depute into England and France in the quality of States, and ſo demand ſuccours of men and commanders, then to make an army of themſelves, reduce the ſame under one commander, which may ſerve for a defence againſt all invaſions; which deſign will require more help than conſultations, for if they ſpend time in it, they may be ſurpriſed ſooner than they or their friends may imagine, &c.

I touched, in my diſpatch of the 15th of January to his Majeſty, what followeth:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Theſe States have again firmly concluded to declare themſelves, in caſe of neceſſity, that, the deputies returning without a truce, the firſt action ſhall be to publiſh a manifeſt. The ſecond, that every one of his own motion ſhall lay down his offices received from the King of Spain, and remain nobles and States. God be thanked, as hitherto I have not been negligent in the leaſt, I believe not to have been deceived, neither promiſe to myſelf of the buſineſs any thing, but that your Majeſty may ſee good effects thereof, if the factions among the Hollanders, and particular deſigns of the Prince of Orange do not hinder them; for certain appeareth a great faction for truce amongſt the Hollanders, which party the Prince of Orange doth ſeem by all induſtry to ſupport, who could not as yet be brought to contribute really to the revolution, having made himſelf to

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ſeek when the neceſſity was required, without which, theſe States will never reſolve to declare themſelves.

I touched, in my diſpatch of the 29th to his Majeſty, what followeth:

Your Majeſty will underſtand by my letters to the Right Honourable Secretary Coke, that the deputies are at length departed, and how nigh theſe States are to ſhake off the Spaniards; it depending only upon the Hollanders for to ſtand firm to their former articles, and oblige theſe to put in execution what the ſaid articles contain.

From the firſt minute I conceived your Majeſty's intereſt in this buſineſs, and that your Majeſty approved thereof, I have not been wanting in my duty; and now the Hollanders may make me happy in the ſucceſs, for it depends on them to ſtand to the articles, and not to yield to any modification.

I touched, in my diſpatch of the 31ſt of March to his Majeſty, what followeth:

Your Majeſty will have ſeen in my ſeveral diſpatches, what there is concerning the buſineſs of theſe States; the ſeaſon advanceth, and in caſe France and the Hollanders ſhould contribute to the revolution by their forces, ſudden councils and revolutions would be required; wherefore it ſeems neceſſary, in caſe your Majeſty go for Scotland, that I were informed thoroughly of your Majeſty's pleaſure, upon this point of the revolution. In my former diſpatches appears, that theſe States had purpoſed, in caſe the revolution were, to demand 6000 men of your Majeſty; and as many of France and Holland, ſo that in this time and moment, it will be requiſite to know what promiſes to make unto them, for to keep them in diſpoſition to take ſuch deſigns as may be for your Majeſty's intereſts; promiſes will be neceſſary means in this extremity; for if France and Holland ſhould bend for the conqueſt, it would be too late to prevent them, when they ſhould be in action.

I touched,

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I touched, in my diſpatch of the 9th of April to his Majeſty, what followeth:

In my diſpatch of the 31ſt I touched, that in caſe your Majeſty went into Scotland, it were neceſſary I ſhould be informed fully of your Majeſty's pleaſure upon the buſineſs of the revolution, leſt the Holland States that ſtand for war, might deal with France, and ſo cauſe the revolution to go on too ſwift and violent a pace; ſince, without a third party's ſupport, they might be conquered. This ſeemed neceſſary to be conſidered, although for as yet the promiſes of France made to the Hollanders are not ſo apparent, as that on the contrary thoſe of the Hollander for truce may compaſs their ends; for if they will not prefer the revolution to truce, either they look for the conqueſt, or moſt of them find truce their beſt match.

Theſe States having made known they would ſtand to the firſt deſign of the revolution; the Holland States finding themſelves preſt on their firſt engagements, have declared again, by letters of the 31ſt of March, that they are reſolved to aim at the revolution, and therefore will cauſe the neceſſity unto theſe, for their declaration, at which inſtant the ſaid Holland States do promiſe, that all acts of hoſtility ſhall ceaſe on their ſide; and that although the Prince of Orange ſhould be engaged in any important enterprize, that, at the inſtant of the declaration of theſe States, actually and verbally performed, the ſaid Prince would quit all for to ſupport theſe; and therefore the Prince of Orange deſired to be informed of the means theſe have to make good their declaration, to the end the Holland States may the better know how to diſpoſe and govern their army. To the which theſe States replied categorically as followeth:

That in caſe the States of Holland and France did cauſe the fear required (without ſtratagem or deſigns of conqueſt) they would reſolutely declare themſelves; that, for the means, they were confident the ſoldiers of the country would take their part; being alſo aſſured of the princes, officers, and popular towns, to which forces they

they would desire the aid of their neighbours; which procured, it were easy to block up the Spaniards in their simple holds and fortresses, since that both the Spaniards and Italians make not in all 6,000 men.

These demands of the States of Holland, and answers of these here, are clear, and of high reach. The offers will be greater if they are answerable, and although it be impossible to warrant the events of such extraordinary revolutions, yet it is necessary to be vigilant, since it may import your Majesty above all others, to have a part in the counterbalance, this State being free, will cause in the body of Christendom; for which consideration I insist still to know your Majesty's intention concerning the said business; and what promises your Majesty thinks fitting to make unto these States, when the time shall require it, being it might be too late then, for to deliberate thereupon.

They have been consulting what pretext your Majesty might take to support them, and not give any subject of jealousy or breach to Spain; and though they are but their first thoughts, yet can I not forbear to touch them, since they, like wise people, seek to desire things that may meet with the interests of their friends. The point then is, assistance of men, without rupture with Spain. The sum of the expedients thought on by them is, That your Majesty might demand of the Emperor and King of Spain, whether they would avouch the Prince Palatine, son of the deceased, who was under the ban of the Emperor, but not of the empire, to be restored and established in his lands and dignities; if they will promise, after the Swedes, who possess the Palatinate, some places excepted, shall have restored the said young Prince Palatine (by accord your Majesty will make with the Swedes) that the said Prince shall, from that instant, be declared for legitimate possessor of his lands and dignities, that they will declare to let the said Prince peaceably enjoy them, since it may be

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be eaſy for the Emperor to ſatisfy the Duke of Bavaria, were it in augmenting the number of Electors.

If the Emperor and King of Spain refuſe this categorical anſwer, as likely they will, that your Majeſty then might take a pretext to give troops unto the Hollanders, under colour to ſend them into the Palatinate, that ſo the Spaniards might think your Majeſty gives this double aſſiſtance unto the Hollanders, till ſuch time as the Upper and Lower Palatinate were reſtored.

That the General of theſe troops might be ſecretly inſtructed from your Majeſty, to go with the Prince of Orange according as the States of Holland ſhall judge expedient; but that, at the moment of the revolution, he may take the part of theſe States, and ſtand for their ſupport; that ſo both the States of Holland and France might be fruſtrated of a conqueſt, if any ſuch they intended, and by this means there would be an Engliſh army in the land, and without exception of Spain, who could not but approve that theſe provinces ſhould not fall under the States of Holland and France.

Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to impute to my duty the length of this letter, which contains the demands and declarations of the States of Holland to theſe here, and their anſwer; and their thoughts concerning the manner and means how your Majeſty might aſſiſt them.

In my former diſpatch appears, I have not been too credulous of what the States of Holland have anſwered upon the point of revolution; yet, as it would be preſumption to warrant their actions, ſo alſo it ſeems to require in prudence, to think upon things that may come to paſs. If the laſt demands of the Hollanders, contained in this diſpatch, do not proceed out of a ſecret and contrary deſign, and if the Spaniards, to prevent them, be not craftier than they might be, to condeſcend to what they have already demanded, and more if they ſhould aſk it, for to have an end of the war, time muſt diſcover.

I touched

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I touched in my diſpatch of the 22d-12th of April to his Majeſty, what followeth:

In my diſpatch to the right honourable Secretary Cooke, appears the requeſt I make unto your Majeſty, for leave to come into England for one week, to ſettle ſome particular affairs, which, although they require my preſence, is but a pretext, that both here and there it may be thought the ſubject of my journey; being at the requiſition of theſe Catholic States at the hour of their criſis, and in neceſſity to be fully informed of your Majeſty's diſpoſition concerning them; and that having the happineſs to ſee your Majeſty, I might touch what is neceſſary upon their ſaid buſineſs. I ſhall wait for to know your Majeſty's pleaſure therein.

Theſe former letters do bear, that the Catholic States had taken a reſolution to declare themſelves free, if the Hollanders did conſtrain them to it by neceſſity, it being no work of perſuaſion; and therefore the ſaid Catholic States would never be poſſeſſed with any other conſiderations, but what might cauſe the end of war; which conſideration made them bend to the firſt point, the ſending of their deputies.

They did expect the Holland States would have preſſed them on the point of their declaration, to have neceſſity for a pretext. It appeareth the Holland States have failed on this point; although by their laſt letter of the 3d of May, they make a ſhew to like the revolution; but the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, their army in the field, the Maeze and Rhyne, and the paſſages near, to be poſſeſſed on the one ſide, and thoſe of Germany by the French on the other, the Catholic States do apprehend, if the Hollanders reject a truce, that they aim at the conqueſt, and that the ſhew they made to deſire the revolution, was but a pretext to gain time, and put France to it to aſſiſt them powerfully; and the Catholic States are ſo much the more jealous of it, having obſerved that France and Holland have ſtill preſſed them upon one point, to know what province,

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vince, what town, or what Prince, would be for the revolution; which ſeems to imply, that the deſigns of Holland and France be to debauch the members, to conquer as much as they can of the body of theſe provinces. This is ſo much apprehended by ſuch of the Catholic States who are not French, Hollanders, nor Spaniſh, but look for comfort from England, as that I have been required to make this journey, to inform myſelf what his Majeſty can or will do for the preſervation of the Catholic provinces, in caſe the Hollanders do not accept the truce, and ſtand with France for the conqueſt; which in all likelihood is as facile, as for the Hollanders to accept a truce.

I conceived it to be my duty (his Majeſty having condeſcended to my coming over), to repreſent again plainly to his Majeſty, the eſtate of thoſe provinces being ſuch, that in caſe the Hollanders do not yield to an accord, but continue their wars aſſiſted by France, the ſaid Catholic provinces run hazard to be torn by the one, and rent by the other; which his Majeſty in his great wiſdom knoweth would be prejudicial to his intereſts.

The reaſons which cauſe this belief of the future ruin of the ſaid provinces, are grounded on the inabilities of the Spaniards to defend them any longer, and the diſſatisfaction of the people. For the firſt, the Spaniards and Italians are not above 6000 men, guided by ſuch as give no cauſe to believe they are able to reſiſt their adverſe party. The Walloons, who make 10,000 men, when it ſhould come to the point, will not fight for Spain; neither thoſe provinces will contribute to the maintenance of the army, their flat denials ſerving for proofs; and the commanders of the ſaid troops being brothers, nephews, and creatures who wholly depend on the Princes and States of the Catholic provinces; they, and the popular towns of Brabant and Flanders, will, at what price ſoever, have an end of war; in which conſideration is the centre wherein muſt be reconciled all the reaſons which might have obliged the Catholic States

States long ſince to expreſs themſelves; their reaſons being, they could not in conſcience, in honour, and with ſafety, enter in any public or private negociation with foreign Princes, except the Hollanders and France did cauſe the neceſſity for their declaration; which being of the whole body, would free the particular members of the ſtain of rebellion. CHARLES I. 1633.

His Majeſty will have obſerved in all my former letters, with what caution ſuch as are affected to England have given me light of the reſolutions, which I have known before they came to effect; of which I have given account in all my diſpatches.

His Majeſty alſo will have obſerved by my ſeveral relations, that the ſaid body of Catholic States conſiſts of members, in which, as ſome are yet Spaniſh, either out of fear or hope; ſo ſome are wholly affected to France; and it hath been my labour and duty to endeavour, that his Majeſty might get a part amongſt the ſaid States, to counterbalance the French, who headlong, by their deſpair, did run into the protection of France.

His Majeſty will alſo have obſerved out of my former relations, that the Catholic States were jealous of ſome of their members of States, principally of thoſe of Flanders, and ſome of Brabant, ſuſpecting they might incline to join themſelves with the Hollanders; for proof whereof, his Majeſty will be pleaſed to recal to mind, that when the deputies of the Catholic States were ſent to Maeſtricht, although their inſtructions were to demand a truce, as ſubjects of the King of Spain, having made choice of the Baron of Swartzenbough, and the penſioner of Namure, both men, for their birth and inclination, not to be gained by the Hollanders; yet, in conſideration the third deputy was the penſioner of Antwerp, a town much affected to the Hollanders by reaſon of hopes for traffic, the Catholic States imparted nothing to them of their ſecret deſign to move the Hollanders to cauſe to the ſaid Catholic States, by arms, the neceſſity for their declaration.

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To the contrary, they inſtructed the ſaid commiſſioners to demand a ceſſation of arms for fifteen days; and underhand required from the Prince of Orange, none ſhould be granted, ſix at the moſt; and with this categoric anſwer, that the Holland States would underſtand to no truce, except the Catholic States declared themſelves free; all this on the Catholic States deſign to free themſelves of war. On which point of declaration, the Holland States and the Prince of Orange, ſince their firſt printed declaration, have not preſſed the ſaid Catholic States; to the contrary, have endeavoured to draw the Catholic States in a treaty; made them hope a modification of the articles projected at Maeſtricht; did draw the deputies to the Hague, where, although new articles, advantageous to the Hollanders, were propounded, yet did not the Hollanders preſs that the Spaniards ſhould wholly quit the ſtrong places, neither that the Catholic States ſhould declare themſelves free; demanded the contrary, that the Catholic States ſhould be ſufficiently authorized by the King of Spain to treat with them; all which might well draw the treaty at length, but not cauſe a neceſſity in the Catholic States to declare themſelves free. Which conſidered, the Catholic States became reſerved one to another, and ſo far from truſting their deſign, that ſuch a one of them who had the greateſt inclination to ſhelter under a potent neighbour, did ſpeak but in general terms, and in the General Aſſembly did give his voice; as they all often concluded, and as appeareth in my relations, that nothing could oblige them in conſcience and in honour to ſhake off the Spaniards, but neceſſity; and therefore had appointed the Abbot of the Parc, and of Ypres, for the Spaniſh journey, to let that King underſtand what they ſhould be forced to reſolve unto, for preſervation of their religion and liberty; in caſe the Hollanders and France ſhould bend for the conqueſt. All which, well conſidered, the Hollanders not ignorant of it, this argument ſeemeth infallible, that either the ſaid Hollanders pretend to accept a truce, in caſe they can have it at will,

will, or bend for a conqueſt, if they can compaſs it by their own forces, in caſe the hopes of aſſiſtance from France ſhould fail them. CHARLES I. 1633.

Thus, having touched ſome particulars which ſeemed neceſſary to recollect, that his Majeſty might the clearer ſee the eſtate of the buſineſs, and the grounds whereon the ſaid Catholic States have proceeded; the main point is, to return to what is neceſſary the Catholic States affectioned to England ſhould be aſſured of; which is, of what his Majeſty can and will do, for the preſervation of the Catholic provinces, in caſe the Hollanders and the French bend for the conqueſt.

For although from that time I had his Majeſty's inſtructions, containing theſe words, "And do hereby authorize you to promiſe them in my name, protection againſt any body but the King of Spain; and to defend them from him and all the world elſe from injury;" I have laboured to make a party for his Majeſty, to counterpoiſe the French, made ſuch confident of the Catholic States, ſenſible of his Majeſty's power and good will, on which they do rely; yet do they preſs to know in ſecret, by what poſſible means they can be aſſiſted; and if his Majeſty will be diſpoſed to the ſaid aſſiſtance, at the inſtant when neceſſity ſhould require it; and on this they inſiſt the more they are uncertain of the deſign of Holland and France; for as they conceive, they may at this laſt journey of their deputies ſee the end of war, ſo the beginning of great evils, which to prevent, ſpeedy help and counſels will be requiſite; which cauſed them to move ſome expedient, which his Majeſty might make uſe of for to aſſiſt them, in caſe his Majeſty made any difficulty in regard of the King of Spain.

So, that as the firſt expedient, by them thought on, for ſending troops towards the Palatinate, paſſing by Holland under an Engliſh commander, might ſerve to watch on the frontiers, on the time of the declaration of the Catholic States, then to ſtand for them againſt Holland and France; ſo, the ſecond expedient, if his Majeſty thought

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thought fit, to offer aſſiſtance to Spain, conſidering the weak eſtate of the Catholic provinces, which to defend from France and Holland, the ſaid troops might ſerve.

On this, I take it to be my duty to repreſent again unto his Majeſty, although his journey for Scotland will, perhaps, ſuffer no time for long conſultations, leſs to put on foot the means required for aſſiſtance, if the deputies return without a truce; yet that his Majeſty's offers of aſſiſtance may be ſeaſonable and of great effect, if they may be ſuddenly communicated to the parties, and that they may be ſatisfied of the likelihood of them, ſince they queſtion whether his Majeſty would make no difficulty to aſſiſt them in regard of the King of Spain.

For although ſuch of the Catholic States affected towards England have not declared what ſecurity they can give to his Majeſty for his troops, if any ſhould enter into Flanders, nor can expreſs themſelves on that particular point, before the whole body of Catholic States have declared themſelves, at which time they intend to depute in England and France; yet might his Majeſty's offers and demonſtrations of likelihood of aſſiſtance, ſerve to preſerve the party; which otherwiſe, deſpairing of aſſiſtance from England, will run hazard to join itſelf with the French, to which their religion might give them cauſe. His Majeſty in his great wiſdom knoweth alſo what other advantages the ſaid offers or expedients may produce. For, as the Spaniards, in hope of aſſiſtance, may put by the negociation of truce, which, for certain, the Condé Duca * would do in hope of ſome other way, ſo the Hollanders may put by the conqueſt.

8 GERBIER.

* Of Olivares.

Copy of his Majeſty's Letter, which he wrote to Mr. Gerbier, Agent at Bruſſels, all with his own Hand, and was ſent preſently by an Expreſs.

Gerbier,

YOUR letters of the 4-14th of this month were delivered me the 17-27th. Wherein I find as much important buſineſs as you made me expect, when you deſired leave of me to come over. The buſineſs is ſo great, that even to manage it, I am forced to truſt ſome; yet ſince ſecrecy is eſpecially neceſſary to it, I have thought fit only to truſt Secretary Coke with it. Now, as for your direction what to do in this, the firſt conſideration is, that ſince I am in friendſhip with the King of Spain, it is againſt both honour and conſcience to give him juſt cauſe of quarrel againſt me, I being not firſt provoked by him; and a juſter he cannot have, than debauching of his ſubjects from their allegiance. But ſince I ſee a likelihood (almoſt a neceſſity) that his Flanders ſubjects muſt fall into ſome other King's or States' protection, and that I am offered, without the leaſt intimation of mine, to have a ſhare therein; the ſecond conſideration is, that it were a great imprudence in me to let ſlip this occaſion, whereby I may both advantage myſelf, and hinder the overflowing greatneſs of my neighbours; ſo that my reſolution muſt depend upon the agreement of theſe two conſiderations, which without much difficulty is, That it is neither againſt honour nor conſcience to take the protection of theſe people into my hands, that fly to me without my ſeeking; they being forced elſe to ſeek to ſome other King or State for it; and it is ſo far from giving juſt cauſe of quarrel to the King of Spain, that he ſhould rather thank me for it; they being otherwiſe forced to fall into his enemies or his rebels hands; therefore, upon great conſideration, I have ſent you

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you powers to treat with theſe diſguiſed perſons; and do hereby authoriſe you to promiſe them, in my name, protection againſt any body but the King of Spain, and to defend them from him and all the world elſe from injuries. Laſtly, to aſſure them of exact ſecrecy, that none ſhall know of the motion, in caſe we cannot agree upon conditions; but what thoſe ſhall be, I leave to your hammering, unleſs with this caution, to conclude nothing, but *ad referendum* to me. So farewel,

From Beauleu, this 21ſt of Auguſt, 1632.

CHARLES, R.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.

Sir,

I RECEIVED this morning yours of the 21ſt-11th of Auguſt, and have delivered the incloſed to his Majeſty. We expect the particular liſt you mention of the battle at Maeſtricht, and what was the conſequence; becauſe, as yet, we hear nothing thereof (but by general rumour) from Holland, or other parts.

Concerning the great buſineſs wherewith you acquainted his Majeſty, in your former letters, I now ſend you ſuch a commiſſion under his hand and ſeal, as for the time may be expected, and the ſecrecy not now permitting other formality, which may hereafter be had to give full contentment. For your inſtructions I ſhall need to ſay no more than what is contained in his Majeſty's own letter, written all with his own hand, and here incloſed with the commiſſion. The inſtructions will be made more particular and full, when the parties diſcover themſelves, and when you ſend word what they offer, and what they do require. Return by this meſſenger what farther light you can; for the buſineſs requireth expedition if Maeſtricht be

taken, as by the ſucceſs of Papenheim's defeat we conceive it is, and thereupon other matters, in probability, will fall out, upon which you muſt carry a very watchful eye; and with the ſame care and diligence you have hitherto uſed, adverti ſe as ſoon as may be. Specially if, upon the ill ſucceſs of their affairs, there follow any notable diſorder in the Archdutcheſs's countries, and thereupon you diſcover any preparation or intention in Queen-mother to remove*, you muſt, according to your former commiſſion, uſe all means to divert her, &c. CHARLES I. 1632.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.

Sir,

YOUR late proceedings related in your letter of the 11-21ſt September, are well approved by our gracious maſter; who requireth you to continue your negociations with the ſame parties, that the intended revolution may not be diſpoſed to ſerve the turns of others, with his prejudice and neglect, which muſt not be endured. And conſidering theſe new Catholic States find it neceſſary to have a dependence and protection from their neighbours, you muſt labour what you can with theſe men, and ſuch other conſiderable perſons with whom you may get confidence, to rectify their judgments in the choice, and to make them apprehend their conjunction with us to be more advantageous, and leſs prejudicial than with any other. You may put them in mind, how in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the French King refuſed to undertake the cauſe of the Low Countries, becauſe of the offence his neighbours would take at it. Beſides, their adhering to that crown, conſidering their pretenſions and power, would prove no freedom, but an abſolute ſubjection in the end. On the other ſide, the States General and Sept. 24.

* From Bruſſels; probably with a view to England.

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Prince of Orange will not be able to ſettle them in that peace and freedom which they deſire, when both the Spaniſh, French, and others ſhall oppoſe it. It remaineth then that England is their ſureſt refuge, which will beſt agree both with their eccleſiaſtical and temporal eſtates; both which you muſt endeavour to perſuade to be of the ſame mind; for their churchmen you ſay are the moſt active in this change; and if it had not been for the ſcandal of religion, would have expreſſed themſelves for a treaty with England, before others; but you tell us not who made this objection, and it ſeemeth ſtrange you ſaid nothing to reform their miſpriſion. For England, in reſpect of religion, is far more proper for them to join withal, than the United Provinces can be; for howſoever of late they have given their neighbours ſpecious freedom of the catholic religion, yet they have reſerved in every town a free church for their profeſſion; and what diſtraction their continued intercourſe, with ſuch a mixture, would breed may eaſily be conceived. Whereas no ſuch effect can be feared from the Engliſh, who, as they enjoy at home their honours, freedoms, and eſtates without difference, ſo much leſs will trouble or reſtrain men's conſciences abroad; nor are ſo incorporate by language, or by general reſort to that nation, that they can be capable to make any change. But, which is more conſiderable, churchmen amongſt the States, have no part in the government or in the laws; neither do their elders comport with our hierarchy of archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, canons, and pariſh curates. And which doth yet abaſe them more, they there poſſeſs neither glebe-lands nor tythes, nor other ſtable revenues, but depend altogether upon voluntary contributions, which will bring their rich clergy in ſhort time to a very mean and poor eſtate. Theſe differences you muſt infuſe into the minds of their eccleſiaſtics, who are not ſo mortified that they will not take their own intereſts to heart, and prefer an alliance in reſpect thereof. For the nobility and gentry, you may declare at large, on all occaſions, how much better it will be for them to adhere to a potent

King

King than to a popular and factious State. Amongſt thoſe boors, where all are equal, and capable of the higheſt places, their honours and degrees can have no pre-eminence, but be ſubject to the affronts of the baſer ſort, without civility or reſpect, which noble minds cannot endure. But from a great King they may not only be aſſured to be preſerved in their honours and eſtates, but may alſo hope for preferments and employments, according to their worth and birth. And becauſe the nobility and gentry have greateſt intereſt in the defence of their country for the military part, you may ſet before them the extent of his Majeſty's three kingdoms, and the numbers of martial people he ſendeth into all countries, and which have long borne the brunt in all ſervices, and without whom thoſe States, whoſe aid they now ſeek, will not be able to preſerve them. And for his Majeſty's navy, it is doubtleſs the moſt potent for defence, offence, or diverſion, of any in the Chriſtian world. To come to the merchant part, you are in like manner to infuſe, by ſuch as have credit in the chief towns, what profit they may get by drawing in our trade. How Antwerp by it was raiſed in ſhort time from a village, to the moſt famous emporium of Europe; and how Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres had their ancient wealth from thence; and how our commerce will bring thither, not only our cloth and our ſtuffs, and other ſtaple commodities; but all they fetch from the Indies, and other parts of the world, whether our trade is now enlarged. But if they caſt themſelves upon the Holland ſcales, they will enable them to engroſs their trade and wealth. Like offices you may do amongſt the ſoldiers, who, when once the peace is made, will find but cold entertainment in Holland, except the King our maſter ſhall lay to his hand. Your own judgment and knowledge of the people, will inſtruct you how to amplify all theſe conſiderations, at leaſt to get a party for this crown. But becauſe the Spaniards are not yet excluded by the ſovereignty and the arms remaining in their hands, you muſt not, by a total adhering to the faction of the new States,

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either cry down their authority, or neglect their intereſts, who may well be able to do that there for us which they cannot for themſelves. And when they perceive that they muſt quit their hold, will probably incline rather to depoſite their right in our hands, chiefly the ſea-towns, than to ſuffer their rebels, or their oppoſites to carry them by force. In this your dexterity muſt be employed, rather in drawing on overtures from themſelves, than in offering propoſitions.

What you can work in this, or the reſt, advertiſe from time to time; and be aſſured, your endeavours are graciouſly accepted by our Maſter, and that orders will be taken for your allowances, whereof I am commanded to put the Lord Treaſurer in mind, which I will not fail to do. And ſo remain

Your aſſured friend to do you ſervice,

Hampton-Court, 24th September, 1632.

JOHN COKE.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.

October 6.

—BUT that which moſt importeth, is, to obſerve carefully the reſolutions and proceedings, both of the States there aſſembled, and alſo of the Spaniards. For both, we have ſent you particular directions, by letters by Mr. Taylor. But here we learn by the miniſters and friends of the Hollanders, that their treaty with thoſe provinces, will be grounded firſt upon the pacification of Ghent; and ſecondly, upon the ſtricter alliance made afterwards at Utrecht; both tending to incorporate again the ſeventeen provinces into one body, under one kind of government, and one governor alſo (as may properly be ſuppoſed).

And

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And whether this, in the end, may not prove as inconvenient to the States themſelves, of the one ſide or the other, is conſiderable for them both; and by you may be repreſented as occaſion ſhall be fitly offered. For, if by this union, that Governor (ſtrengthening himſelf with the intereſts of France, or joining with thoſe two Counts of Berge and Egmond, who, as you write, have already received not only the badges of that alliance, but the command of their forces) ſhall make himſelf by degrees as abſolute, as the Dukes of Burgundy were in former times; how can it be avoided, that all thoſe provinces ſhall return to their ancient ſubjection, and to ſtand with France in the ſame terms they then did? It will therefore much import the freedom of thoſe States, as formerly I have obſerved, not to range themſelves under the Prince of Orange, as the other States have done; but have a commander of their own body, if ſuch a one may be found, to keep their balance even. If this be not obtained, you may aſſure yourſelf, they ſhall all come under the Prince of Orange as a conquered people, and receive ſuch conditions as Maeſtricht and Limbourg have ſubmitted unto. And as they now ſtand diſtracted, it will not be poſſible for them to eſcape this growing power over them, without the aſſiſtance of a potent Prince ſpeedily to be called in, before all the forces of Spain be caſt out. If the Spaniards themſelves offered, as you ſay, that at a pinch they would put their maritime towns into the hands of a neighbour; they are ſure enough to be put to that pinch; but if they come not to a ſpeedy reſolution, it will be too late. It is written that the deputies have treated upon general propoſitions, but withal, that Count Henry hath a government allotted him. This, you take no notice of, and it will be neceſſary to know it, and how far it doth extend. You ſay the revolution is, "*qu'il faut eſtre eſtats Catholiques pour demeurer* "*eſgalement entre l'Angleterre & France*;" but you leave out the main point of "*eſtre libres*;" which if they obtain not, by being alſo free from the ſubjection of Holland, they will find themſelves deceived.

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deceived and overreached by thoſe they rely upon. The offer of inland provinces mentioned by the Abbé l'Eſcaglia, is not otherwiſe conſiderable, than that, ſhewing an inclination to depoſit ſomething in our hands, they muſt needs at length conceive, that neither they nor we can reap benefit of any ſuch depoſitation without the power of ſea towns where to plant our forces. The places he nameth, are thoſe, we hear, which are to be reſigned to Count Henry Vandenbergh. For the two articles or conditions upon which, you ſay, a treaty will be accorded*; the firſt, to remain under the Spaniſh obedience, and yet to make a league offenſive and defenſive in effect againſt them, includes a contradiction; *& envers tous, & contre tous*, is not only againſt them, but France, England, and the empire; which none of them, without much patience, can endure, without a like league to be made againſt them. The ſecond article, to put out all the Spaniards, and raze all their citadels, will be a work of time. And though the Spaniſh Miniſters, *font ſemblant de ploier a tout*, as underſtanding the offenſive to be only in caſe they ſhall break the truce of peace; yet even that will leave their ſovereignty a ſhadow, and no ſubſtance, wherewith it ſeemeth they will content themſelves, rather than ſeek help from any other friend. What the iſſue of this treaty in a neutral place may be, you will obſerve and advertiſe. And if theſe new eſtates will ſuffer themſelves to be ſo much overruled, as not to declare themſelves *Catholiques & libres*, nor to rely at all upon the aſſiſtance or alliance of any King, or other State, ſave the States General and the Prince, their caſe is deplorable, and they are made an abſolute conqueſt, and will reſent it too late. I have enlarged upon my own ſenſe in this diſcourſe, that your meſſenger may bring you ſomething, and return with ſpeed unto you. So expecting daily to hear from you, I remain

Your aſſured friend and ſervant,

London,
6th of October, 1632, our ſtile.

JOHN COKE.

* With the States, a different ſcheme from the private treaty with England for protection.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.

Sir,

YOUR Secretary will tell you how graciouſly his Majeſty hath given him acceſs; and for the jealouſy you mention in your letter, to be conceived by thoſe States, as if Taylor's negociation were a treaty againſt them; you might have removed it by telling the true cauſe of his employment; which was, as I writ unto you, a reſpectful meſſage concerning the Palatinate; which the Infanta, at his return from Vienna, did commit to his truſt; whereupon a treaty againſt them in any kind could not credibly be collected. For, if that had been intended, the Spaniſh Reſident Nicolaldy, and the Infanta's agent here, had been the proper Miniſters to have treated with. Beſides, the commiſſion and inſtructions given to you, to treat for protection of thoſe States, even againſt Spain, if need required, diſproveth ſufficiently that contradiction; and is beſides, in a degree, that declaration they now require; eſpecially if you inform them further (what you underſtood by my laſt letters) that his Majeſty hath given order to his agent on the other ſide, to declare to the States General, to the Prince of Orange, and to their deputies at Maeſtricht, and in the like manner to their own deputies attending that aſſembly, that his Majeſty requireth to have a part in that treaty; which is in effect as public a declaration as yet they can reaſonably deſire. For to proceed farther by any publication which might cauſe a breach with Spain, and offend other neighbours, before any treaty be on foot or reſolved, is not counſellable for a Prince that governeth his actions by wiſe and fit reſpects. But let them once ground, either by ſending order to their deputies at the aſſembly, to make his Majeſty of Great Britain a party to the treaty there, or elſe appoint deputies to treat elſewhere with him apart;

30th Oct.

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apart; and they ſhall then ſee, that no offence ſhall withhold him from public treating and undertaking their protection, ſo as they may be freed from that ſubjection and dependence upon unequal terms, which may be unworthy of them, and in the end will breed offence; as by former inſtructions you are directed to let them know. For Mr. Taylor, his Majeſty believeth, his actions and carriage will clear all ſuſpicion of his underhand dealing to indirect ends. And you alſo will concur to ſtop impertinent apprehenſions; and to advance his Majeſty's ſervice with unanimous endeavours, to which our duties bind us all. If the reſolution be taken, as your Secretary hath intimated, to deliver Frankendale into his Majeſty's hands, you ſhall do well not only to encourage it, but to draw it to effect. The goed acceptance of your travail in that, and in the reſt, may animate you to proceed; and be aſſured your aſſignments will be carefully called upon; ſo I remain

Your aſſured friend to do you ſervice,

Theobald's,
30th of October, 1632.

J. C.

May it pleaſe his Majeſty to conſider the heads following:

15th May, 1633.

Imprimis, HIS Majeſty will conceive (the Hollanders refuſing the truce) that either they tend to the revolution or the conqueſt.

2. It may be ſuppoſed, his Majeſty conceives the revolution to be as ill as the conqueſt or truce; his Majeſty having no part in the revolution.

3. Certain it is, his Majeſty will allow, that of the conqueſt, truce, and revolution; the revolution is the leaſt evil of the three, and

and that the revolution may be advantageous to his Majeſty, having part therein. CHARLES I. 1633.

4. Certain it is, his Majeſty will allow it to be neceſſary to hinder the truce and the conqueſt.

5. The truce may be put by ſeveral ways, either aſſiſting the Spaniards, or to negociate ſo, that both Holland and France believe his Majeſty will contribute to the revolution, under which pretext, Holland and France, as may be ſuppoſed, aim at the conqueſt.

6. The conqueſt by Holland and France, muſt be prevented with forces of a third party, to counterbalance them both.

7. The conqueſt may be as ſudden as the revolution or truce.

8. It is then neceſſary his Majeſty reſolve, how, when, and where, troops may be ſent to make the counterbalance between Holland and France; for though it may be conceived the Spaniards will defend themſelves till the laſt town; yet, that whenſoever Holland and France ſhould have divided the beſt lot, it would be too late for his Majeſty to offer his aſſiſtance.

It may be conceived his Majeſty eſteems the revolution as ill as the conqueſt, having no part in the ſaid revolution.

That it would be neceſſary to have a place of retreat ſecure for his troops; which the Catholic States themſelves ought to deſire for their own ſecurity.

It ſeemeth, theſe two points will be ſatisfied; in the firſt, that the doubt of having no part in the revolution, is removed of itſelf; ſince the ſaid States cannot, without a third party, be ſecured from the Hollanders and French; for if it be ſuppoſed that, either by the revolution or conqueſt, they will become one province with the Hollanders, where are many religions, it is infallible that France can nor will not ſuffer the Catholic provinces to become one body with the Hollanders; what would the iſſue be, but that France will enlarge his bounds, to the prejudice of England.

To the ſecond, for place of retreat, it ſeems needleſs to doubt of that, which will be of itſelf, if only a pretext can be found to get

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troops, under an Engliſh commander, in or about the ſaid Catholic provinces; for the Catholic States, on the point of the revolution, muſt neceſſarily cauſe towns to ſtand for them, which muſt be maintained by troops, be they French or Engliſh.

The main to reſolve on is, the expedient to get troops in or about the ſaid Catholic provinces, who, in the point of declaration, or danger to be conquered, may make a powerful counterbalance, with the troops of the country, to reſiſt the conqueſt of Holland and France.

Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke.

14-24 June.

Right honourable,

AT my return from Stanford to London, where I was to ſtay for his Majeſty's inſtructions in writing, I advertiſed my correſpondent with the Catholic States, that I was upon my return, and that in the interim he might aſſure thoſe of the Catholic States which are affectioned to England, of the continuance of his Majeſty's diſpoſition for their future protection; for which his Majeſty was as willing as able; and therefore the Catholic States needed not fear to be conquered by the Holland army or France; although the King of Spain ſhould not be able any longer to defend them.

I have, at my arrival at Bruſſels, fully and plainly remonſtrated to my aforeſaid correſpondent, in the terms of my inſtructions, his Majeſty's real intention concerning the ſaid protection of the Catholic States.

The ſaid correſpondent reſted well ſatisfied, and approveth the propoſition for a place of ſurety to be as juſt for his Majeſty to ſtand upon, as advantageous for the Catholic States; ſince they may well conceive his Majeſty (having ſet forth on ſure ground) will not forſake

them, be their adverſe party never ſo ſtrong. My ſaid correſpondent takes upon him to poſſeſs thoſe of the Catholic States affectioned to England, with this opinion, and to communicate the ſame unto thoſe which are abſent. Affairs here, for the preſent, appear with this face, that as, from the beginning of interviews and parlies between Sir Peter Rubens and his correſpondents on the Holland ſide for to compaſs a truce, the Spaniſh Miniſters thought fit to give way to the negociation; ſo, having cauſe not to incline ſo much to a parley between theſe States and thoſe of Holland, the ſaid Spaniards (when the Catholic States were entered in conference with the Hollanders) kept a ſecret correſpondency on foot with ſome of the Holland ſide; either to croſs the negociation of the Catholic States, or to make uſe of the ſaid ſecret correſpondence, when the Catholic States' negociation ſhould fail, or prove contrary to their intereſts. And ſo theſe Spaniſh Miniſters, affectioned to truce, ſtill make uſe of Van de Wouwere, one of the commiſſioners of finances, who was joined with Sir Peter Rubens. This ſame Van de Wouwere hath been theſe five weeks at Zevenbergh, under pretence of procuring a paſs from the Hollanders; which paſs, as he himſelf ſaith, he now at length hath obtained; and this upon the inſtant of the return of the Archbiſhop of Mechlin, the Duke of Arſcot, and Baron Swartſenbourgh; who had left in Holland four deputies to advertiſe them of a fit time to repair again to the Hollanders, who, as they think, ſtrive to linger the treaty. Theſe ſay, ſome of the Hollanders told, that ſince they had been at the charges of this campaign, it was fit they ſhould reap the fruits of this ſummer. The ſaid returned deputies ſay to have obſerved, that ſome of the States on that ſide have a great inclination to have an end of the wars, and that their people will have the truce. Wherefore the ſaid deputies ſay to be of opinion (ſince they find the inclinations on the other ſide to be ſuch) that it is fit they ſhould put the beſt face on the preſent condition, and rather offer the laſt penny to contribute to their own defence, than for want of

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ſhew, fail to compaſs the truce. On this conſideration the aſſembly now doth meet.

The Duke of Arſcot doth not ſtick to ſay, that ſome of the Holland States have told him plainly, that they were as much troubled with the growing greatneſs of the houſe of Naſſau, as theſe have care to be diſcomforted for the King of Spain's preſent weakneſs, or to be weary of ſubjection. The ſaid Duke of Arſcot ſaith, he made good uſe of this ſpeech, in acquaintaing the Prince of Orange with it; with deſign to foment a jealouſy, and breed a faction between the States and the ſaid Prince; who, as it is conceived, aims at the government; for none but his creatures, and thoſe of his kindred, are governors of towns, and in eminent offices. The deputies of the Holland States, as theſe returned deputies ſay, are gone to the Prince of Orange to give an account of the treaty.

Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke.

Received at Edinburgh, July 1ſt, 1633, O. S.

1ſt July. SINCE my laſt of the 24th June, the Catholic States here have had ſeveral meetings; thoſe which are zealous for Spain, perſiſt to contribute for the defence of the country the beſt they may; which, as the Spaniſh commanders ſay, will run no great hazard this year. They attribute the loſs of Rheinberg, to the governor Dieſtorff. He paſſed with his troops at Antwerp the 27th of June laſt; was there invited to dine with the governor of the citadel; and, for the laſt courſe, ſerved with a commiſſion for his impriſonment. Herewith goeth a copy of what he is likely to produce in his defence.

As yet, cannot be ſaid, what reſolutions theſe Eſtates will take. My correſpondent tells me, that whenſoever they ſhall find themſelves ſo preſſed,

preſſed, as, for to ſave their religion and liberty they muſt declare themſelves, then one in their name ſhall be ſent to his Majeſty. They will make their propoſitions ſo as his Majeſty ſhall run no hazard for any aſſiſtance they ſhall demand; and his Majeſty, as they ſay, will have cauſe to truſt them, as they are confident of his Majeſty's diſpoſition, and preſent ſecrecy. This is all they can ſay for the preſent, being unable to judge of their caſe, till they ſee what the Prince of Orange intends, and what the Spaniſh commanders can do *.

Bruſſels,
1ſt of July, N. S. 1633.

* The negociation breaks off abruptly, and was not probably kept up much longer, as the Spaniſh Court got ſcent of it, and King Charles could proceed no further without riſquing an abſolute breach with them.

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No. IV.

Scotch Troubles, 1637-41.

[This ſeries of original documents relative to the diſorders occaſioned by the Scotch Service-Book, the Editor conſiders as one of the moſt important parts of his collection. Thoſe unfortunate troubles were the forerunners of our own, and were in their progreſs, if not in their riſe, fomented by the Puritan party at home, and by our neighbours (particularly the French) abroad.

The greateſt part require no explanation to thoſe who are at all converſant in the hiſtory of that time. The Duke of Hamilton has, in a very obliging manner, permitted the Editor to make uſe of ſome papers from the valuable archives of that noble family; the remainder (except the Journal of the Council of Peers, for which we are indebted to the Harleian library) are tranſcribed from the Paper Office, where they lay diſperſed in a number of ill-ſorted bundles. They ſupply ſome defects which Lord Clarendon, during his retreat at Jerſey, ſeems to have in vain called upon his correſpondents to ſupply.

The Minutes of Cabinet Councils, taken by Secretary Windebank, the Journal of the Conferences near Berwick, and of the Council of Peers at York, will be found to throw conſiderable light on that embroiled period. King Charles in perſon, and the greateſt men of the time, are the conductors in thoſe important conſultations, which were recorded at the very moment they paſſed. The diſpatches from Secretary Vane, whilſt the King was in the north in 1640, tohis colleague Windebank, are very material, with regard to the facts and anecdotes which they contain, and fill up ſome

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ſome chaſms in the beginning of the ſecond volume of the Clarendon Papers.—Vane has been charged with betraying his maſter's councils, whilſt he was in his ſervice. That he was a bitter enemy to Strafford is certain, and from a very imprudent offence given him by the latter; but the other point is not ſo clear. He ſeems to have gone along with the humour of the Prince he ſerved, and the court he lived in (ſometimes, perhaps, againſt his own opinion) till the popular torrent became irreſiſtible, and then he was perplexed and entangled with the conſequences of meaſures he had not originally been the adviſer of. His diſgrace ſoon followed; but as his ſon, the younger Vane, was a leader in the parliament councils, the father ſeems to have finiſhed his life in quiet and obſcurity, though without the eſteem of either party.]

The Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.*

October 19 †.

19 October. THE King's pleaſure expreſſed in thoſe two letters written by our new Secretary ‡, came to Edinburgh on the 16th of this inſtant. The Secretary's Letter to James Primroſe, was ſo peremptory for delivery thereof, at the next meeting of council, that notwithſtanding of my Lord Chancellor's ‖ abſence, we opened the ſame, and accordingly gave obedience to every particular, and made proclamations thereupon, the double of all which I have ſent to my Lord Roxburgh §, to be ſeen by your Lordſhip. The noblemen, gentry, and commiſſioners from preſbyteries and boroughs, ſeemed to acquieſce herewith, and every man, in a very peaceable manner, to give obedience to the tenour of the proclamations; but the next day thereafter, the town of Edinburgh, or, as our new magiſtrates

* Treaſurer of Scotland.

† The firſt tumults were in July 1637. The contents of this letter fix it to the ſame year. Burnet (Hamilton Memoirs, p. 32.) ſpeaks of the *new tumult in October thereafter.*

‡ Lord Stirling.

‖ Archbiſhop Spottiſwood.

§ Privy Seal.

call

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call it, the raſcally people of Edinburgh, (although the ſiſters, wives, children, and near kinſmen, were the ſpecial actors) roſe in ſuch a barbarous manner, as the like has never been ſeen in this kingdom, ſet upon the Biſhop of Galloway, and with great difficulty was he reſcued into the large council-houſe. This beginning was ſo continued, that before a courſe could be taken to ſecure him, the Town council-houſe, where the magiſtrates were ſitting upon their own private affairs, was environed with huge numbers of all ſorts of people. But becauſe the relation hereof will conſume more time in reading than is fitting for me to trouble your Lordſhip with, I have ſet it down likewiſe to the full to my Lord Roxburgh; who will ſhew it to your Lordſhip, if you ſhall think it worthy to be looked upon. The reaſon of their riſing and environing their own magiſtrates was, as they publickly and confidently affirm, becauſe their magiſtrates, both before this uproar and in the time of the pacification thereof, had promiſed to them that they ſhould be the laſt in all this kingdom ſhould be urged with this book. But becauſe all this is at length ſet down in the information I have ſent to my Lord Roxburgh, I will forbear to trouble your Lordſhip therewith any farther. My Lord, believe, that the delay in taking ſome certain and reſolved courſe in this buſineſs, has brought buſineſs to ſuch a height, and bred ſuch a looſeneſs in this kingdom, that I dare ſay was never ſince his Majeſty's father's going into England. The King is not pleaſed to allow any of us to come to inform him; and, after debating with himſelf, his commandments may be according to the neceſſity of the time. No man ſtays here to attend or aſſiſt the ſervice; and thoſe on whom he lays, or ſeems to entruſt his commandments in this buſineſs, moſt turn back upon it, whenever any difficulties appear. I am in all theſe things left alone, and, God is my witneſs, never ſo perplexed what to do. Shall I give way to this people's fury, which, without force and the ſtrong hand, cannot be oppoſed? I am calumniated as an under-hand conniver. Shall I oppoſe it with

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that reſolution and power of aſſiſtance that ſuch a buſineſs requires? It may breed cenſure and more danger than I dare adventure upon, without his Majeſty's warrant, under his own hand, or from his own mouth. My Lord, it becomes none better to repreſent theſe things to our Maſter than yourſelf; for God's cauſe, therefore, do it. And ſeeing he will not give me leave to wait upon himſelf, let him be graciouſly pleaſed ſeriouſly and timely to conſider what is beſt for his own honour, and the good of this poor kingdom, and direct me clearly what I ſhall do; and if I do it not, ſo far as is poſſible for one man, let me no more be thought worthy his Majeſty's favour, nor be more thought worthy the name of

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

Earls of Traquair and Roxburgh to the Marquis of Hamilton.

Received at London the 27th of February, 1637-8.

Our very honourable good Lord,

AT the Earl of Traquair his arrival from England, he found the Earl of Roxburgh at Edinburgh, newly come from Stirling; where, having concluded with the Lords of Secret Counſels that were there for the time, upon ſuch particulars as were to be thought upon before the farther ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure by Traquair, he was come to Edinburgh for ſettling and diſpoſing his own private affairs; that upon Traquair's home-coming, he might return to Stirling, and without interruption attend his Majeſty's ſervice. 17th Feb.

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And we having communicated together upon ſuch particulars as concern his Majeſty's ſervice now in hand, did advertiſe the Chancellor there, that, with all poſſible diligence, ſuch of the council as could be conveniently advertiſed from that place, might be required to attend the council upon Tueſday next the 20th of this inſtant; and the like courſe we have taken in writing to all ſuch as live here near to this place. But as we ourſelves were this day ready for our journey to Stirling, we have heard of ſome meetings of noblemen, barons, and others, here in Edinburgh, who, upon ſome informations (or rather apprehenſions) of what might come in Traquair's company, have not only met, and expected more; but, as we are informed, intend to follow us to Stirling. This, we conceive to be of that conſequence and importance, that hereupon we have delayed our journey till Monday next; and reſolve not only to try the reaſons and occaſions of their meeting, but alſo, by all means poſſible, to diſſolve the ſame.

And if herein we find more difficulty or oppoſition than we wiſh or expect, we ſhall foreſee in what our judgment we can think upon to be fitting for ſecuring of the peace in this State; and foreſeeing what may be neceſſary for the preventing of any doubts, or interruptions may be made to the proſecution of his Majeſty's ſervice at Stirling; wherein, if we cannot prevail by fair and quiet means, to work the wiſhed effect, his Majeſty ſhall be aſſured that nothing ſhall be left undone by us (before we turn our back upon this place), that may be expected from faithful counſellors and affectionate humble ſervants.

The unſeaſonableneſs of both way and weather, and indiſpoſition of the Biſhop of Dunblaine, Dean of the Chapel, makes ſome difficulty in the removal of the ſervice of the chapel to Stirling; but we ſhall be careful to provide for him, and the gentlemen of the chapel, in every thing which in reaſon they can demand for their journey; that they ſhall have no ground or excuſe of ſtay, after the

20th of this inſtant. In all which, and every thing recommended to us by his Majeſty, we ſhall uſe that exact diligence, which in reaſon may be expected from thankful ſervants and ſubjects, and

Your Lordſhip's faithful friends,

Edinburgh,
17th February, 1637-8.

TRAQUAIR,
ROXBURGH.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.

Pleaſe your Lordſhip, Dalkeith, February 26th.

THIS incloſed is the copy of the Earl of Roxburgh's and mine, to the Secretary, to be ſeen by his Majeſty. To it I can add little; for, in effect, by it his Majeſty will perceive, how much all ſorts and qualities of people within this kingdom, are commoved with the proclamation; inſomuch that it is a great providence of God if ſome miſchief do not enſue thereupon, before help can be provided. 26th Feb.

Many things have been complained upon, as the petitions preſented to the Council, and by the Council to his Majeſty, bear; but the Service-book, which they conceive, by this proclamation*, and the King's taking the ſame upon himſelf, to be in effect of new ratified, is that which troubles them moſt. And truly, in my judgment, it ſhall be as eaſy to eſtabliſh the Miſſal in this kingdom, as this Service-book, as it is conceived.

The not urging of the preſent practice thereof, does no way ſatisfy them; becauſe they conceive that what is done in the delaying

* Avowing the Book, or *Buke*, as the Scotch called it; but diſpenſing with the immediate enforcing it.

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thereof, is but only to prepare things the better, for the urging of the ſame at a more convenient time; and, believe me, as yet I ſee not a probability of power within this kingdom to force them; and whoever has informed the King's Majeſty otherwiſe, either of the book itſelf, or of the diſpoſition of the ſubjects to obey his Majeſty's commandments, it is high time every man be put to make good his own part.

The Biſhop of Dumblane has gotten his monies, both for himſelf and the gentlemen of the chapel, and for all the charges in removing thither. I have likewiſe directed my brother and ſervants into Edinburgh, to attend; but, for any thing I can be able to do with him, he will not hence, affirming ſometimes that he is not able for want of health, and ſometimes for fear of harm to his perſon.

The Earl of Marr's untimely writing to his Under-keeper of Edinburgh Caſtle, who has the reputation of a great Puritan, has been the occaſion of great buſineſs, and has made the alarm be taken more hotly than was neceſſary or fitting at this time.

Your Lordſhip is likewiſe to acquaint his Majeſty, that little or nothing is done at court, or upon diſpatch from his Majeſty, whereof they have not (as they affirm, and many times it falls out to prove ſo) got ſome intelligence.

My condition at this time is hard; for as, upon the one hand, I am perſecuted by the implacable under-hand malice of ſome of our Biſhops, ſo am I now in no better predicament with our noblemen and others, who adhere to their courſe; and I may truly ſay, the Biſhop they hate moſt, is not more obnoxious to their hatred, than I am at this time. But I ſhall not fooliſhly give occaſion of offence to any; and if, in the proſecution of my Maſter's commandments, I offend, I muſt expect the protection of my Maſter, and the countenance of your Lordſhip's reſpect to

Your very faithful ſervant,

TRAQUAIR.

The Same to the Same.

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Stirling. March 5th, 1638.

THIS bearer * ſhall ſave my pains in writing long letters; to him the eſtate of this kingdom is fully known, and from him I have kept none of my thoughts. 5th March.

Your Lordſhip can beſt witneſs, how unwilling I was that our Maſter ſhould have directed ſuch a proclamation; and I had too juſt grounds to fortell the danger and inconveniences which are now like to enſue thereupon. It is now high time for your Lordſhip to repreſent to his Majeſty the height of evils are like to fall upon us, if he ſhall not be pleaſed to free the ſubjects of the fears they have conceived of innovation of religion; and that it is not to be expected from this, that will withſtand, far leſs repreſs the fury. The † band, whereof the Juſtice Clerk hath the double, is ſubſcribed by many; and all qualities of people, from all towns of the kingdom, are coming in daily to ſubſcribe.

If his Majeſty may be pleaſed to free them, or give them any aſſurance, that no novelty of religion ſhall be brought upon them, it is like the moſt part of the wiſeſt ſort will be quiet; but, without this, there is no obedience to be expected in this part of the world; and, in my judgment, no aſſurance can be given them hereof, but by freeing them of the ſervice-book and Book of Canons. If the King, for the good of his own honour and ſervice, may be moved to any thing in this kind, I wiſh earneſtly your Lordſhip ſhould not ſpare your pains in coming home, and undertaking to do his Majeſty's ſervice; but except ſomething of this kind be granted, I know not what farther can be done, than to oppoſe force to force; wherein whoever gain, his Majeſty ſhall be a loſer. Pardon this rude freedom; and what I can ſay more upon this, or any other Scots ſubject, is known to the bearer, and that I am

Your Lordſhip's faithful friend and ſervant,

TRAQUAIR.

* The Juſtice Clerk.

† The Covenant.

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The Same to the Same.

Dalkeith, March 22.

22d March. BY the command which I have from the Juſtice Clerk, the Council is ordained to meet; and from them I am to receive what farther they can adviſe concerning the preſent eſtate of this poor kingdom; ſo that this being the 22d, it will be Saturday the 24th before poſſibly any number of counſellors can meet, and Monday the 26th will be the day of our return from thence to Edinburgh; from whence, God willing, I ſhall part on the 27th, and in my journey ſhall uſe the beſt diligence I can. In the mean time, give me leave to repreſent to your Lordſhip's conſideration, if it ſhall not be fitting to advertiſe his Majeſty, that ſince he intends to hear ſome of his faithful ſervants before he determines upon his reſolutions in this ſo perplexed buſineſs, if it ſhall not be fitting, and the ſafeſt way for him not to hearken to private counſel, or trouble himſelf with new motions or propoſitions, until we be all together, that having heard every man's judgment and opinion debated in his own hearing, in the deepneſs of his own wiſdom he may reſolve upon the beſt. But this and all that may concern me in all this buſineſs, I remit to your Lordſhip's own conſideration, and with the aſſurance of a true and faithful heart to your Lordſhip's ſervice, do reſt moſt confident, that, as your Lordſhip will never be wanting, both by your advice and aſſiſtance to what may concern either the King's honour, or the end of the public, ſo will you never forget

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR *.

* All the Scotch miniſters of ſtate, except the biſhops, were much againſt the Service-book. Laud complains of them for it, particularly of Traquair, in a letter to Lord Strafford. King Charles's extravagant fondneſs for Epiſcopacy led him into many political errors.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.

I HAVE ſent Sir Thomas Hope's *, Sir Thomas Nicolſon's †, and Sir Lewis Stewart's ‡ anſwers and reſolutions to his Majeſty's interrogatories ‖, ſent down by me, together with a joint letter from the Earl of Roxburgh and myſelf; wherein we touch no particulars, except that we tell his Majeſty the true cauſe of the advocates, their long delaying of their anſwers; I have directed all to the Juſtice Clerk §, to be delivered by him; that either the writings may be redelivered to him; or otherwiſe, that his Majeſty may be advertiſed to keep them to himſelf, and to communicate them to as few as he ſhould think fitting. My next deſire is, that your Lordſhip may conſider upon them; and to that effect, I earneſtly wiſh your Lordſhip may be preſent, when they are delivered. They do not much differ in their opinions; neither know I which of the three are moſt confident of their own judgments; and yet I muſt confeſs to your Lordſhip freely, I can hardly agree to their opinions in ſome things; neither can I think the ſoundeſt and moſt underſtanding judges will in all the particulars be of their mind.

This great meeting **, which was at Edinbugh, is diſſolved, but have left commiſſioners behind them; and have eſtabliſhed ſuch an intelligence amongſt themſelves, that they can meet and come together upon very ſhort advertiſement. There are ſome raſcally people in divers towns of the kingdom, who commit riots by their tongues; and ſome go farther, againſt ſome of our conforming Miniſters. One

* The advocate.

† A covenanter.

‡ Sir L. S. well affected, as a royaliſt.

‖ Theſe interrogatories and anſwers are not mentioned in Burnet's Memoirs.

§ The Juſtice Clerk went up to London in March 1637-8. This and the following letter appear to have been writ while he was ſtill at court: probably in April.

** It was then the covenant was ſigned, and the tables or committees of different orders appointed.

particular

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particular I have written of to the Juſtice Clerk, which occurred lately at Lanerk; and for any thing I can learn, they intend to prepare themſelves, by all poſſible means, for the worſt; but will not ſtir *, except they be preſſed with the practice of thoſe things they complain upon. What I have farther written in particulars to the Juſtice Clerk, I will not repeat here again. As I ſhall hear from your Lordſhip of his Majeſty's pleaſure, I ſhall faithfully proſecute what is in the power of

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

The Same, to Lord Juſtice Clerk.

THE three advocates opinions give me no new grounds to think upon; I find them all three much of one mind; but of them all, the King's advocate is moſt obſcure; and his advice of a precognition †, in my judgment, is dangerous, both for the buſineſs itſelf, and for our Maſter's honour; and my ſimple opinion is, that his Majeſty ſhall never ſhew himſelf in this buſineſs, or any particulars that have relation thereto, but upon ſuch ſure and certain grounds as he ſhall be able to carry whatever he intends, or goes about.

They, I mean the petitioners, have written to ſome at Court, as I doubt not but you have heard before this. They would willingly petition his Majeſty, and as I hear, in a ſubmiſſive way; but without remitting any thing of the ſubject. But theſe letters to Court, if you can come by a ſight of any of them, will more particularly inform you of their pretenſions, than as yet I can.

* *i. e.* rebel.

† Examinations taken before a magiſtrate, previous to a judicial proceſs.

Since

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Since the multitudes are gone, I ſhall do my beſt in the quieteſt, diſcreeteſt way I can, to foreſee for every thing that is to be had within this kingdom, for the providing of his Majeſty's houſes; but I muſt intreat you to acquaint his Majeſty with the true eſtate of the caſtle of Edinburgh; for except the Earl of Mar * come down, or ſome other courſe be taken herewith, I dare not ſay, but when we leaſt look for any ſuch thing, it may be in their hands, who will not be found fitting keepers of ſuch a place in ſuch a time.

As this was written, this incloſed † from theſe ſubſcribing Miniſters, was delivered to me. What anſwer to give them, or what help or redreſs to make them, ſo God may help me, I know not. They have written in the ſame form to the Chancellor and others, and have likewiſe ſent a ſupplication to the Council, to be preſented on Thurſday next; but I fear we be not a number; and if we were, what can we do, until ſuch time as either the people's fury be laid, or his Majeſty's authority ſtrengthened by power to reſiſt or ſuppreſs the ſame?

God give you a good ſucceſs to what you go about; and I pray the God of all wiſdom to direct your Maſter in the right way.

My Lord Roxburgh parts from Edinburgh the 15th of this preſent, towards his own houſe, and intends not returning before he be once at Court. I ſhall ſtill attend until I hear from you; but until I get ground from you, I know not what to do, neither what advice to give, farther than you knew before your parting from this place.

I hope there ſhall be no ſtir, until they ſee clearly what his Majeſty intends to do anent their things in queſtion; ſo that if you find his Majeſty inclinable to the Council's advice, I am confident the King's Majeſty may take what time he ſhall think fitting, and may conſult

* Conſtable.

† This petition is not mentioned in Burnet. Theſe were conforming miniſters.

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whom he pleaſes, and what way he pleaſes, without any danger of ſtir, or public inſurrection, ſo long as nothing is preſſed.

I have ſo much to ſay, and yet am ſo confuſed, or rather perplexed what to write, that I will once again reſolve to be ſilent, until I hear from you; which I wiſh may be as ſoon as poſſibly you can; for believe me, no man's condition is ſo hard at this time as mine; and I may confidently ſay, which in ſome meaſure was ſeen to your Lordſhip's ſelf, that I am put in the ſame by moſt of them, with the Biſhops. But let our Maſter be pleaſed once to reſolve, by advice of his faithful ſervants, and if I be wanting to act my part, let me no more be truſted by my Maſter, nor thought worthy the name of

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

If the King's Majeſty be pleaſed to hear any of his ſervants, before he conclude fully what courſe to take in the proſecution of this buſineſs, I remit to your own conſideration, if it ſhall not be neceſſary to ſend for Lorne *. I need not enlarge this point, the reaſons are ſufficiently known to yourſelf.

* Afterwards Marquis of Argyle. A ſecret covenanter then.

The Same to the Marquis of Hamilton.

Holyrudhouſe, May 17, 1638.

WE have thought fit to cauſe to be drawn up two commiſſions *, the one, with a general power, for repreſſing the preſent diſorders, and doing of what farther ſhall be found neceſſary for the good of his Majeſty's ſervice; the other, making particular mention of a power of calling parliament, or convening or indicting of general aſſemblies. Both is neceſſary to be under his Majeſty's hand; and your Lordſhip may make uſe of either of them, as you ſhall find cauſe. 17th May.

Every day gives new occaſion of regret to all honeſt hearts, who love either King or country. People's follies, or rather madneſs, is boundleſs; and in no ſubject's actions more madneſs appears, than in the town of Edinburgh. The pulpits are daily filled with thoſe miniſters, who were lately put out of Ireland, who with ſome of their own, and ſome ſuch other, as come from other places of this kingdom, preach nothing but fooliſh ſeditious doctrine.

Miniſters who refuſe to read the covenant, are called before their preſbyteries, to hear and ſee themſelves depoſed; and all this without warrant, or ſo much as taking notice of their Ordinary †. Gentlemen of good quality refuſed the benefit of the communion, for refuſing to ſubſcribe the band. But it is not now time to bemoan; all honeſt men's care muſt be to think upon the beſt means and ways how to remedy theſe evils, and reſtore authority to that full force and vigour which is due thereto.

I cannot ſay, that ſince my coming home ‡, I have been able ſo far to underſtand the true eſtate of buſineſs, as that I dare adventure to give my Maſter any new advice in particulars. But I wiſh from my

* For the high commiſſioner. † *i. e.* The Biſhop. ‡ From Court.

CHARLES I. 1638.

heart that the King's Majeſty would be pleaſed to divide the proclamation, or at leaſt allow your Lordſhip to publiſh it all at one time, or ſeverally, as your Lordſhip ſhall find, after being ſome time here, may conduce to his Majeſty's ſervice. By the firſt thereof, people's fury will be mitigated; and being brought once to ſome temper, and quietneſs of mind, the ſecond part, containing the upgiving of the bands *, will come more ſeaſonably.

And upon this occaſion, give me leave to repreſent to your Lordſhip, how neceſſary it is, for the good of this ſervice now in hand, that your Lordſhip be not tied to preciſe and ſtrict forms. The King's pleaſure muſt be the ground of all your proceedings; but either muſt the King's Majeſty be graciouſly pleaſed to truſt your Lordſhip with the form and times of acting thereof; or otherwiſe be aſſured to meet daily with rubs and difficulties; and ſo make your Lordſhip's, or any other who ſhall have the leaſt hand in the buſineſs, condition very hard. And therefore let me intreat, or rather conjure your Lordſhip, to deal ſeriouſly with his Majeſty in this point; for I atteſt God to be my witneſs, I deſire this without reſpect to your Lordſhip or any thing elſe; but merely becauſe I know how much it may conduce to the advancement of his Majeſty's ſervice in theſe difficult times.

I am not very apt to do evil offices to any, far leſs to my friends; but truly I find the advocate ſo fooliſh in many things, and far changed from what I conceived him to be, when I came from Scotland, that I dare not be anſwerable in my duty to my Maſter, if I ſhall not acquaint him herewith (which I muſt intreat your Lordſhip likewiſe to do, as from me). And although I ſhould be ſorry that any public affront were put upon him, and eſpecially at this time, that I muſt adviſe your Lordſhip, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary, to have a ſecret warrant, for one other advocate, in caſe your Lordſhip ſhall find him continue in his follies.

* Or Covenants.

The

CHARLES I. 1638.

The Earl of Mar is not come here, nor has he made ſo much as a ſhew of preparation for his own coming. I have written to him, and am ſufficiently provided with victual, and every thing of that kind, that ſhall be found neceſſary, both for Stirling and Edinburgh.

I doubt not but your Lordſhip has heard how forward the north countries are in all their combinations; the covenant read and ſubſcribed in all places; and no where more ſolemnly than in the church of R.

All thoſe letters which came from his Majeſty, or ſuch others, or directions, as I had from your Lordſhip's ſelf, ſhall be punctually proſecuted; and he that is not ready with heart and hand to aſſiſt your Lordſhip in this buſineſs, God will curſe. And ſo wiſhing your Lordſhip a happy journey homeward, and much content when you are here, I reſt

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.

July 13. Edinb.

UPON report that ſome of the King's navy were coming to this Firth of Leith, the Laird of Albar came to my Lord Roxburgh; and being, as appeared, in a great commotion, hardly could he be diverted from putting up fires upon thoſe places they have condeſcended upon, for advertiſing of the countries. Much more was ſpoken, ſcarce worthy of your Lordſhip's hearing. 13th July.

CHARLES I. 1638.

It ſeems the Chancellor * has been moved herewith, for the very next day, towards the evening, he parted from Roſline, and was the next morning beyond Cockburne's-path. The poor Biſhop of Galloway is ſo frighted with his ſudden departure, and with the big words were vented by ſome, upon the report of the King's ſhips incoming, that I can hardly keep him here.

The King's Majeſty has been accuſtomed by this time, to prick the Sheriffs at Lammas, to the effect they may be preſented to the Council Table the firſt Council day in September. It will be hard, if not in moſt places impoſſible, to find any who have not ſubſcribed the covenant; and therefore, the Juſtice Clerk and I conceive it beſt, that the laſt year's Sheriffs ſhould be continued for this ſubſequent year alſo. Only Sir William Niſbet, Sheriff for Edinburgh, muſt be changed in reſpect of his ſickneſs; and I know none more fitting in that ſhire, than Sir John Dalmahoy, who, among all the Juſtices in that ſhire, is the only man has not ſubſcribed.

The Earl of Montroſe, and ſome others with him, accompanied with Mr. Alexander Henderſon, and Mr. David Dick, are gone for Aberdeen, and intend to keep the ſame courſe, for ſubſcribing, and cauſing people to ſwear to the covenant, that they have done in other places of this kingdom. It is much to be feared, that thoſe of Aberdeen, who have ſtood out all this time, ſhall no longer refuſe the common way. The Marquis of Huntley is there, and I have written to him; but I fear it ſhall not avail.

I hope before this comes to your Lordſhip's hands, you will have made ſome good reſolution, for ſettling the peace of this poor diſtracted kingdom; neither need I add any new arguments to incite your Lordſhip hereto; for the truth is ſo well known to your Lordſhip's ſelf, as it can be better underſtood by none.

* Spotſwood ſeems to have behaved without dignity in theſe troubles, and ſoon parted with the Great Seal, for 2500l. See Burnet's Memoirs, p. 79.

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It is no time for any honeſt heart to think upon himſelf, or his own particular; if things come to the worſt, no man's condition is ſo hard as mine. If God ſend us peace, I am confident his Majeſty's goodneſs and juſtice will ſoon rectify me, both in his own opinion, and in the opinion of the world; and until he have reſolved upon his own ſervice, I ſhall continue in that way your Lordſhip left me in, which I know your Lordſhip will witneſs to have been ſuch as became an humble and faithful ſervant, and one who has deſerved better than to be run over with ſuch creatures.

Pardon this digreſſion, and believe that although it come from a heart full of grief, yet from a heart faithful and affectionate to my Maſter (as the end ſhall make it appear), even in the greateſt difficulties can occur to

Your, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

The Same to the Same.

Edinburgh, July 20th, 1638.

THE proteſtation that was made by the Covenanters againſt, or upon his Majeſty's proclamation, was (notwithſtanding your Lordſhip's warrant, inhibiting all printing without warrant) printed, as I take it, by the printers of the college of Edinburgh; and that your Lordſhip may conſider, and confer this which is printed with that which was given to your Lordſhip's ſelf, I have ſent your Lordſhip one of them. 20th July.

Since my laſt, the Covenanters who are here in town, have diſcharged the miniſters of Edinburgh, who have not ſubſcribed the Covenant, to preach in any of the pulpits of Edinburgh, theſe two next ſubſequent Sundays appointed for celebration of their faſt. I

cauſed

CHARLES I. 1638.

cauſed ſpeak to the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, but find nothing of them but one inclination to approve of the motion; and ſo the pulpits of Edinburgh are to be filled, for thoſe two days, with ſtrangers.

Moſt of the Doctors of Divinity in Fife and St. Andrews, have (as is affirmed) ſubſcribed the covenant this laſt week. There is much diſcourſe of fortifying Leith, and the harbour thereof, and a propoſition made to the town and council of Edinburgh for that effect; and withal, a deſire from the nobility and gentry, to them, to ſend for two thouſand weight of powder for the uſe of their town; but all their motions are delayed, until they ſee what word comes from Court. But truly, if any of the King's ſhips appear upon our coaſts, or if any ſoldiers come to Berwick or Carliſle, or preparation made in any of thoſe places, I fear it will breed a great ſtir here: and it may prove dangerous to ſome, if timous advertiſement be not given thereof.

The people's fury ſeems rather to increaſe than diminiſh, againſt the Biſhops; and if ſome ſatisfaction come not, upon the firſt advertiſement from your Lordſhip, I dare not undertake for Galloway any longer; for the man is timorous, and will not ſtay where I would have him. My attendance ties me all day in Edinburgh, and ſo long as theſe folks are watching and guarding as they do, I hope your Lordſhip will not think it fit I ſhould be from Dalkeith at night; and he ſtaying in my lodging in Edinburgh, where I have but ſome very few ſervants, I think it not ſo convenient a place for him to ſtay unto. Howſoever I ſhall not be wanting to him, nor in any thing I know to be my Maſter's pleaſure, ſo far as I have judgment, or lies in the power of

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

Marquis of Hamilton to King Charles I.*

Moſt ſacred Sovereign, Nov. 27th, 1638.

WHEN I conſider the many, great and moſt extraordinary favours, which your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to confer upon me; if you were not my Sovereign, gratitude would oblige me to labour faithfully, and that, to the uttermoſt of my power, to manifeſt my thankfulneſs. Yet ſo unfortunate have I been in this unlucky country, that though I did prefer your ſervice before all worldly conſiderations, nay, even ſtrained my conſcience in ſome points, by ſubſcribing the negative confeſſion; yet all hath been to ſmall purpoſe; for I have miſſed my end, in not being able to make your Majeſty ſo conſiderable a party, as will be able to curb the inſolency of this rebellious nation, without aſſiſtance from England, and greater charge to your Majeſty, than this miſerable country is worth. As I ſhall anſwer to God at the laſt day, I have done my beſt, though the ſucceſs has proven ſo bad, as I think myſelf of all men living moſt miſerable, in finding that I have been ſo uſeleſs a ſervant to him, to whom I owe ſo much. And ſeeing this may perhaps be the laſt letter that ever I ſhall have the happineſs to write to your Majeſty, I ſhall therefore in it diſcharge my duty ſo far, as freely to expreſs my thoughts in ſuch things as I do conceive concerneth your ſervice. And becauſe I will be ſure that it ſhould not miſcarry, I have ſent it by this faithful ſervant of your Majeſty's, whom I have found to be ſo truſty, as he may be employed by you, even to go againſt his neareſt friends and deareſt kindred. 27th Nov.

* This is a very curious letter referred to ſhortly by Dr. Burnet, but not inſerted at length, on account of the perſonalities in it, which it was too near the time to publiſh.

CHARLES I. 1638.

Upon the whole matter, your Majeſty has been groſsly abuſed by my Lords of the clergy, by bringing in thoſe things in this church, not in the ordinary and legal way. For the truth is, this action of theirs is not juſtifiable by the laws of this kingdom; their pride was great, but their folly greater; for if they had gone right about this work, nothing was more eaſy, than to have effected what was aimed at. As for the perſons of the men, it will prove of ſmall uſe to have them characterized out by me, their condition being ſuch, as they cannot be too much pitied; yet, leſt I ſhould lay upon them a heavier imputation, by ſaying nothing, than I intend, therefore I ſhall crave leave to ſay this much. It will be found that ſome of them have not been of the beſt lives, as St. Andrews, Brechin, Argyle, Aberdeen; too many of them inclined to ſimony; yet, for my Lord of Roſs *, the moſt hated of all, and generally by all, there are few perſonal faults laid to his charge, more than ambition, which I cannot account a fault, ſo it be in lawful things. But, Sir, to leave them, and come to thoſe whom I conceive it is more neceſſary you ſhould know, your officers and counſellors, of whom I ſhall write without ſpleen or favour, as I ſhall anſwer to him at the laſt day, to whom I muſt give an account (I know not how ſoon) of all my actions.

Your Treaſurer †, his ambition has been great, and his labouring popularity has certainly prejudiced your ſervice. Nothing could gain him that name ſooner, than by oppoſing the clergy; and the differences betwixt them hath marred all; to which thoſe of the Council did not only hold hand to, but encouraged him to it, as much as in them lay; and here again, I ſay, they gave too juſt reaſon to meet with oppoſition. He is a moſt active man, and hath many excellent parts. What his bypaſt carriage hath been, is as well, if not better known to your Majeſty than me; but he doth now labour cer-

* Maxwell. † Traquair.

tainly

CHARLES I. 1638.

tainly what lieth in him, to advance your Majeſty's ends; and hath oft ſolemnly ſworn to me, that in defence of epiſcopal government, he will ſpend his life and fortune. For thoſe particulars wherewith he hath been taxed, as being guilty of abuſing your Majeſty, in the execution of his place, as Treaſurer, he will, in my opinion, juſtify himſelf. Howſoever (conſidering theſe preſent times) you muſt make uſe of him, and your Majeſty ſhould be wary of giving him diſcontent.

As for my Lord Privy Seal *, I ſhall not need to ſay much of him, he being ſo well known to your father (of bleſſed memory) whoſe judicious character of him to yourſelf, is ſo true, as I ſhall neither add nor pare. He hath likewiſe declared himſelf to me, for epiſcopal government; but I like not his limitations; yet you muſt make uſe of him, for he is a powerful man in this country.

The Marquis of Huntley is unknown to me, more than in general; but much miſliked is he here (yet not the worſe for that) traduced not only to be popiſhly inclined, but even a direct Roman Catholic; nay, they ſpare not to tax him with perſonal faults. But howſoever, this I am ſure of, ſince my coming here, he hath proved a faithful ſervant to you; and I am confident will be of greater uſe, when your Majeſty ſhall take arms in your hand.

The Earl of Argyle is the only man now called up as a true patriot, a loyal ſubject, a faithful counſellor, and above all, rightly ſet for the preſervation of the purity of religion. And truly, Sir, he takes it upon him. He muſt be well looked to; for it fears me, he will prove the dangerouſeſt man in this State. He is ſo far from favouring epiſcopal government, that with all his ſoul he wiſhes it totally aboliſhed. What courſe to adviſe you to take with him, for the preſent, I cannot ſay; but remit it to your Majeſty's ſerious conſideration. The information which you have had from Antrim, the moſt part of it I take to be true.

* Roxburgh.

CHARLES I. 1638.

Perth hath been taxed to be a Roman Catholic; but I find him none. A loyal heart he hath, but no great politician, nor of much power out of the Highlands, and ſhould be encouraged, becauſe he may contribute to the curbing of Argyle.

Tullibardin, I take him to be honeſt; your Majeſty knoweth his abilities. He is a true hater of Argyle.

Wigton, thanks be to God, hath no great power; for if he had it, it would be employed the wrong way. Sorry I am for it, his anceſtors have been ſo dear friends to mine.

Kinghorn, I am grieved for his weakneſs. A good man he is, but totally miſled by his brother Albar, who will ſucceed in his place, he having no children. Too near of kindred he is to me.

Haddington has too much the humour of theſe times; but he hath oft ſworn to me, he will never aſk what your quarrel is; yet few of his friends I fear will go along with him in it, in defence of epiſcopacy.

As for Lauderdale, he is a man of no great power; but he is truly honeſt, and moſt rightly ſet in all that concerneth your ſervice.

Southeſk hath, beyond all expectation, ſhewn himſelf forwardly ſtout in all that hath concerned your ſervice, ever ſince my coming firſt to this country. He is a man of great power, rich, and was extremely beloved; but now as much hated. He doth deſerve your Majeſty's favour, on my word; and, if not for one conſideration, none were fitter to be Chancellor, which I ſhall adviſe your Majeſty not to diſpoſe of till theſe troubles be paſt.

Kinnoul, for his part, hath ſhewn himſelf both true and forward in all your ſervice; in whom your Majeſty may have confidence, according to his power.

Finlater, according to his power, hath done his part, as I hear by the Marquis of Huntley.

Linlithgow, if his power were according to his affection, he would be uſeful to you.

I muſt

I muſt not forget Dalzell, who both is of power to ſerve you, and has moſt faithfully done it.

As for the reſt of the Council, they are either of no power to ſerve you in this time, or totally ſet the covenanters way. For brevity I paſs them by, and have ſent a liſt of the whole Counſellors names.

If the Juſtice Clerk * were not ſo near me as he is, I would ſay more of him than now I will; yet pardon me for ſaying, an honeſter ſoul lives not.

The Advocate † ſhould be removed, for he is ill diſpoſed. I know none ſo fit for his place, as Sir Lewis Stewart. My Lord Treaſurer's friend he is; Sir Thomas Nicolſon being no ways to be truſted in what may concern the affairs of the church.

Now, for the Covenanters, I ſhall only ſay this in general, they may all be placed in one roll as they now ſtand. But certainly, Sir, thoſe that have both broached the buſineſs, and ſtill hold it aloft, are Rothes, Balmerino, Lindſay, Lothian, Loudoun, Yeſter, Cranſton. There are many others as forward in ſhow; amongſt whom none more vainly fooliſh than Montroſe. But the above mentioned are the main contrivers.

The gentry, boroughs, and miniſters have their ringleaders too. It will be too long to ſet down all their names. Thoſe who I conceive to be moſt inclined, the Clerk Regiſter (who is a faithful ſervant to the Crown) if I miſcarry, will give you information of them; yet, I fear him, poor man, more than myſelf. But they are obvious and known to all.

This is all that I will ſay concerning the perſons of the men in this kingdom; wiſhing, Sir, with my heart, thoſe whom I miſdoubt, I may be deceived by their future carriage, and that their loyalty may appear, which will blot out of your Majeſty's memory what my duty and fidelity to you has cauſed me to write thus of them.

* Sir J. Hamilton. † Sir Thomas Hope.

CHARLES I. 1638.

It is more than probable, that theſe people have ſomewhat elſe in their thoughts than religion. But that muſt ſerve for a cloak to rebellion, wherein for a time they may prevail; but, to make them miſerable, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, I am confident your Majeſty will not find it a work of long time, nor of great difficulty, as they have fooliſhly fancied to themſelves. The way to effect which, in my opinion, is briefly thus.

Their greateſt ſtrength conſiſts in the boroughs; and their being is by trade; whereof, a few ſhips of your Majeſty's, well diſpoſed, will eaſily bar them. Their chiefeſt trade is in the eaſtern ſeas and to Holland, with coal and ſalt, and importing of victual, and other commodities from thence; whereof if they be but one year ſtopped, an age cannot recover them; yet ſo blinded they are, that this they will not ſee. This alone, without farther charge to your Majeſty, your frontiers being well guarded, will work your end. This care ſhould be taken, that when particular boroughs can be made ſenſible of their paſt errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, they be not only then not barred from trade, but received into your Majeſty's favour and protection.

In my opinion, your ſhips would be beſt ordered thus, eight or ten to lie in the Firth. There ſhould be ſome three or four plying to and again betwixt the Firth and Aberdeen, ſo long as the ſeaſon of the year will permit them to keep the ſeas; and when they are not longer able, they may retire into the Firth; in which there are ſeveral places in which they may ride in all weathers.

Thoſe ſhips that lie in the Iriſh ſeas, will be ſufficient to bar all trade from the weſt of Scotland. The fittingeſt places are between Arran and the coaſt of Galloway. When the weather is foul, there is an excellent road in Galloway called Lochyen; and another in Arran called Lamlaſh, or the Holy Iſland; where they may ride in ſafety. This is all I ſhall ſay concerning the barring them of trade.

This will certainly ſo irritate them, as all thoſe who within this country ſtand for your Majeſty, will be in great and imminent danger.

danger. The beſt way, that for the preſent I can think on to ſecure them, and to make ſome head for your Majeſty, is, to appoint the Marquis of Huntley in the north, your Majeſty's Lieutenant; with full power to him to raiſe ſuch and ſo many men, as he ſhall think convenient for the defence of the country. By this means, there being a head, thoſe that are in the north will know to whom to repair; and there is no doubt but in thoſe parts they will do well enough. CHARLES I. 1638.

For thoſe that are beſouth the river Forth, I apprehend their danger moſt; and I would adviſe that there were lieutenants likewiſe appointed, to whom they might repair. Neceſſity will force your Majeſty upon one of two, either Traquair or Roxburgh; or, indeed, both, for they may both have commiſſions. They may be well furniſhed with arms, and other things neceſſary, from England, by land, both their fortunes being near adjacent to Northumberland; and though I fear they will not be able to make a body of an army, yet neceſſary it is that lieutenants ſhould be, and I know none ſo fit as theſe in thoſe parts; for I will never think they have traiterous hearts.

Certainly neceſſary it is for the government of this kingdom, that acommiſſioner or deputy ſhould be in it. For experience hath taught me, that your Majeſty will never be well ſerved by your council, unleſs there be ſome one or other amongſt them on whom the chief care muſt lie. If your Majeſty do not firſt ſettle the country, and reclaim it, whoſoever you ſhall employ, will never be able to do any thing. Therefore that ſhould be done, before any new commiſſion be given; and even then, where you will find a man, I cannot poſſibly ſay, unleſs your Majeſty ſend the Duke of Lenox. As for the Marquis of Huntley, certainly he may be truſted by you; but whether fitly or no, I cannot ſay. If I keep my life (though next Hell I hate this place), if you think me worthy of employ-

CHARLES I. 1638.

employment, I ſhall not weary till the government be again ſet right; and then I will forſwear this country.

As for your Majeſty's caſtle of Edinburgh, it was a moſt ſhameful thing it ſhould have been ſo neglected. I cannot promiſe that it ſhall be defended, yet I hope they ſhall not take it, but by an hoſtile act. Some few men I have ſtolen in, but as yet cannot get one muſket put there, nor one yard of match. I have truſted, for a time, the ſame man that was in it, and perhaps your Majeſty will think this ſtrange that I have done ſo; yet neceſſity forced me to it. For thither Ruthven would not go, without arms and ammunition; and indeed he is not to be blamed therefore; but, Sir, I have that in working, that, if I can accompliſh, may for a time ſecure that place. And for my truſting that man, I can only ſay this, that if he deceive me, we were in no worſe condition than when it was in Lord Marr's hands; ſafe only, for the giving him 2000 l. which, if loſt by the default of him whom I have truſted, your Majeſty ſhall not be burthened by the payment of this money, for I deſerve to loſe it for my confidence. He is no Covenanter, and hath ſolemnly ſworn to me, to loſe his life before he quit it.

As for Dunbritton, the way is eaſy to put as many men there as you pleaſe, with victual and ammunition; from Ireland they muſt come, and at the caſtle they muſt land; 100 men will be ſufficient, provided with ammunition and victual for three months; and the ſooner this be done the better.

Thus, Sir, your Majeſty hath the humble opinion of what I conceive of the affairs of the kingdom. What I have ſaid, I humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty.

I have now only this one ſuit to your Majeſty, that if my ſons live, they may be bred in England, and made happy by ſervice in the court; and if they prove not loyal to the crown, my curſe be on them.

I wiſh

I wiſh my daughters be never married in Scotland. I humbly recommend my brother to your favour. CHARLES I. 1638.

Thus, with my hearty prayers to God, that he will bleſs you with a long and happy life, and crown all your intentions with a wiſhed ſucceſs; which I hope to live and ſee effected, notwithſtanding of all the threats that is uſed to

Your Majeſty's, &c.

Glaſgow, 27th November, 1638. HAMILTON.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.

Falkirk, Nov. 30th †.

I COULD not find the Earl of Argyle yeſterday at his own houſe; and being unwilling to go from Glaſgow before I ſaw him, I came to the Lord Boyde's lodging, where I was told he was, with the Lord Loudoun and ſome others. He reſolves to ſtay ſtill in Glaſgow, ſome time at leaſt; and during his abode there, will haunt the aſſembly, and be careful to make them go on in ſuch a way as ſhall be juſtifiable. 30th Nov.

The Service-book will be condemned in general, as repugnant to the tenets of this church; epiſcopal government, as not agreeable to the government thereof; and preſently all the biſhops of this kingdom are condemned, and preſently excomunicate.

The Lord Loudoun acknowledges one of the papers, your Grace produced in the aſſembly, but the certificate refuſed; the ſame was required of me, which at the kirk-yard entry I acknowledged and declared to be ſuch as became an honeſt man; for truly, if I ſhould ſay otherwiſe, I ſhould deny truth and my own judgment. And if I

† This is in 1638, after the aſſembly was diſſolved.

CHARLES I. 1638.

ſhould ſubſcribe any covenant or confeſſion, which, in my judgment, excluded epiſcopacy or epiſcopal government, I behoved to ſubſcribe againſt the light of my own conſcience; and this I declared publicly, as I ſhall do while I breathe.

This morning the Lairds Carberry, Nidrie, and Colintone, with John Smith of Edinburgh, parted from this, about four in the morning, to attend my coming to Edinburgh, for proteſting againſt the proclamation; which they expect at the croſs of Edinburgh.

As your Grace ſhall be pleaſed to honour me with any of your commandments, I ſhall not be wanting with the uttermoſt of my power; and without conſideration either of life or fortune, ſhall witneſs myſelf to be

Your, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton.

Holirudehouſe, Jan. 5th, 1638-9.

5th Jan. THOSE Covenanters who were here at Edinburgh when your Lordſhip parted from this place, have hitherto continued their meetings very aſſiduouſly. They have concluded their petition, and are to ſend it up, as I am informed, with one Mr. William Cunningham or George Windrame, one of which parts upon the 7th or 8th of this inſtant. I could not, by any means, procure a double of it, only I was allowed to read it once over, in one of their own hands; and, to my memory, it begins with a relation of the King's favour and goodneſs in giving them a free aſſembly; which they enlarge with many good words, yet, after, complain of your Lordſhip's carriage in ſtriving, before the aſſemblies, to uſe proclamations, whereby to prejudge the freedom thereof; and that, at the

the ſaid aſſemblies, your Lordſhip did always croſs their fair procedures, with proteſtations and ſuch other acts, and at laſt not only left them without any juſt cauſe given by them, but diſcharged their further ſitting. And in the third place, they gave the reaſons of their not riſing and obeying the proclamation, and ſtrive to enforce this by arguments of reaſon, conveniency, and practice. And in the fourth place, they pretend to demonſtrate that all the acts are grounded upon the uncontroverted laws and cuſtoms of this kirk, as appears by the records and regiſters of lawful aſſemblies, which, by God's providence, they make to be recovered. And thereupon concludes that his Majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed, in the ſubſequent parliament (of the ſitting whereof, by the petition, they ſeem moſt confident), to approve what they have done in this aſſembly; with many aſſurances of their loyalty and fidelity to his Majeſty, and of the truth and ſincerity of their intentions to ſovereignty. The petition is to be directed to your Lordſhip, and in caſe of your refuſal, at ſome conveniency, to his Majeſty's ſelf immediately. Their acts, and whole courſe of their aſſemblies, is at the preſs, and is almoſt ready for the public, both in Engliſh, French, and Latin. It is like to prove a large book; for therein they not only condeſcend upon their own acts, but therewithal cite the acts of all former aſſemblies, which they conceive conduce to their ends. The double of all which, and of their proteſtations againſt the laſt proclamation, and againſt your Lordſhip's declaration, and their anſwer to the biſhops their *declinator*, will come in his company who carries the petition.

They have given order, that throughout all the particular kirks of the kingdom, intimation ſhall be made of the excommunication of the biſhops, and other cenſures againſt thoſe who are not excommunicate. As alſo, that a ſolemn day of thankſgiving, for the happy ſucceſs and concluſion of this aſſembly, be kept throughout the whole kingdom, with a general exhortation to all, to reverence and give obedience to the ſame; and who ſhall refuſe theſe or any

CHARLES I. 1638-9.

of them, the committees in theſe places are to take order with the diſobeyers. And truly it is much to be feared, that they ſhall not find many who will refuſe or diſobey them; ſuch a general terror poſſeſſes the hearts of all, and ſo few there are at this time to ſtand out, or to deal with others to that effect, that there is ſmall hopes of doing good. They have given order for a general *drilling* * throughout the whole kingdom, and to this purpoſe have drawn in all the commanders they can. The kingdom is divided into quarters, and the quarter into more or fewer ſubdiviſions, as the ſame is populous or ſpacious; and ſome appointed accordingly for attending this ſervice under them, and by whoſe directions all men in thoſe bounds are to appear, at a particular place for the rendezvous to each commander. This courſe is preſently to begin; and by this means they intend to have an army ſtill on foot, until they ſee what concluſion the King takes. For they, who by the aforeſaid orders come firſt to any of the rendezvous, are to ſtay together a fortnight, twenty days, or a month, according to the order ſet down; and as they are diſmiſſed, or ready to be diſmiſſed, others of that diviſion come in their room, and this always upon their own charges. They talk ſo confidently hereof, and of the order to be kept, and of the readineſs of the ſubject to undergo both the charge and trouble of all this, and ſo much has intervened by expectation, in all the paſſages of this buſineſs, that I forbear, or rather do not dare to give my judgment or opinion of the probability of the ſucceſs hereof. They reſolve to part from hence about Tueſday or Wedneſday next, and every man to go to thoſe places, where he has moſt power, for aſſiſting and ſeeing put in execution the foreſaid orders; and a new ſolemn and general meeting appointed, to be here at Edinburgh, ſome fourteen or fifteen days after this; the preciſe day I have not yet learned, but, with the next, I hope to be able to reſolve your Lordſhip of this, as I ſhall of what elſe comes to my knowledge.

* This means training.

The

CHARLES I. 1638-9.

The writers and advocates are the only men buſy here in this time in drilling; and of the writers, I dare ſay, the moſt of them ſpend more upon powder than they have gained theſe ſix months bygone with the pen. Some of the ſeſſion have been tempted with paſſing of bills upon the acts of aſſembly, but nothing yet done; and I hope the beſt; howſoever, nothing ſhall be left undone that lies in the power of

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

TRAQUAIR.

Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde to Secretary Windebanke.

Sir, York, April 9th.

SINCE my arrival at this place, I found opportunity to acquaint the King with the dilatory anſwer I received from my Lord Deputy*, and did endeavour to declare the misfortune and ruin that would ſpeedily fall upon me thereby, with many other circumſtances, as I thought effectual; but I find I was ſo failing in my intended expreſſions, that I cannot give you a particular account of his Majeſty's gracious intentions towards me. Finding my brother† upon his return to Berwick, I reſolved to lay aſide all private intereſts, and with my beſt endeavours to attend a ſervice of that importance. 9th April.

It may be eaſy work for my Lord Deputy, with his power and other abilities, to make large objections to divert his intended favours; but after three years time I cannot imagine what new ones can ariſe; but this I will affirm upon my life, that I require nothing

* Wentworth, created Earl of Strafforde about the end of this year.

† Earl of Eſſex.

but

CHARLES I. 1639.

but what is due to me, both in honour and juſtice; and already, ſince my father's death, I have ſpent in the King's ſervice, and been prejudiced by this delay, above ſixteen thouſand pounds, which, with my former engagements, may well ſink a better fortune than mine.

Sir, I am confident his Majeſty will have a careful regard of me; and I am no leſs aſſured of your favour, having already found the good effects thereof; and the preſent condition I am in, is ſo well known unto you, that it were a needleſs repetition to ſay any more, but that there is no poſſibility to preſerve me from ruin, but his Majeſty's ſpeedy direction to have his former commands put in execution, without further diſpute or delay. And, if it do not appear to be too great a preſumption, I ſhould humbly beg that it might be expreſt, in a line or two by his own royal hand; and if it ſhall hereafter really appear, that any thing now confirmed unto me, ſhall be of more advantage to his ſervice to be otherwiſe diſpoſed, I ſhall hereafter moſt dutifully and readily reſign or exchange them, upon any conditions that his Majeſty ſhall think fit to impoſe upon me. But if it be my deſtiny not to find a preſervation where I thought myſelf ſecure, I had rather it ſhould fall upon myſelf than ſome others, having a mind prepared to bear all misfortunes, and a fidelity not to be ſhaken; and which is ſo hereditary a right ſettled in me, that no power nor ſpleen can rob me of it. Haſte, and many confuſed thoughts, muſt plead my pardon for all faults herein.

Sir, without further ceremony, you ſhall ever conſtantly find me

Your moſt thankful and aſſured friend and ſervant,

York, the 9th of April, 1639.

ST. ALBANS and CLANRICARDE*.

* This Lord was a perſon of honour, good ſenſe, and loyalty. The Earl of Strafforde (who made himſelf more perſonal enemies than any miniſter ever did) uſed him hardly; having formed a plan of getting his eſtate into the crown, by declaring his patents and grants void, or voidable. (See Strafforde's Letters, vol. ii. p. 155.) Notwithſtanding this very ſevere treatment, he acted with zeal in defence of the Engliſh intereſt, againſt the Iriſh rebels in 1641, &c.; and had he been better ſupported, would have done more ſervice.

If your leiſure will permit, it will add much to your favours, to let me hear ſomething from you; for all my private affairs now are at a ſtay, and from Berwick I intend a diſpatch thither. CHARLES I. 1639.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

BEING to intreat the favour, by your means to have this incloſed ſafely and ſpeedily conveyed, I held it a neceſſary part of my reſpects, to give you ſome information of affairs here, though it be an addition of trouble to you, receiving them more exactly from far better hands. My brother of Eſſex arrived here upon Good Friday night, accompanied with divers volunteers, but not many of quality, beſides my Lord of Faulkland, and my Lord Garrat. We have yet met with no enemies, but what are conſtant to this place, ſnow, hail, and violent northern winds, which keep back the main part of our victuals and munition. Our garriſon conſiſts of 2500 men, or thereabouts, beſides volunteers, their horſe troops, and ſervants, and fourteen pieces of ordnance. We are confident to make good this place againſt all forces that can come from Scotland, until the King's army be ready, which will not be ſo ſoon as expected, or my Lord of Lindſay's arrival, who is deſigned for this government. We ſhall have ſome leiſure to repair the ruins that time and neglect have wrought here; General Leſley being not yet returned to Edinburgh ſince Aberdeen was rendered to him, without a blow ſtruck, according to former example; and that by his learning and oratory, he hath wrought upon the tender conſcience of Marquis of Huntley to ſwear the Covenant; by which you may know how the 3000 arms, ſent to his aſſiſtance, will be employed. There is a ſpeech that all differences will be accorded between his Majeſty and his 14th April.

CHARLES I. 1639.

his good ſubjects of Scotland; but that being above our underſtanding here, we are only to attend our charge. I do not find that their force or ability is anſwerable to former reports, they relying moſt upon the differences and ſuppoſed preſent defects of this kingdom.

I am in expectation to hear from court what will become of my unfortunate affairs, leaving a letter behind me for Mr. Treaſurer †, who was not then come thither. I have too far enlarged your trouble, and will therefore avoid to mention any particulars of my own, more than to repeat the conſtant profeſſion of being

Your moſt aſſured friend to ſerve you,

Berwick, Eaſter-day. ST. ALBANS and CLANRICARDE.

Counteſs of Weſtmorland to Francis Windebank.

6th May. MY nobleſt friend, into whoſe hands I dare put my life, and to meddle in things above us, is dangerous; but my intereſt, and the children unborn, enforceth me to utter my mind. The Scots have moſt inſolently urged his Majeſty to this unſupportable way of revenge, which ſeems yet nothing at all to work upon them, as men without the fear of God, as well as of their lawful King, yet not without ſhews ſometimes of deſiring reconciliation; which ſome, tendering only the King's honour (which, I confeſs, is deeply concerned to reduce them totally to his will), it ſeems, counſel him altogether to reject. But if his Majeſty cannot be repaired by this way, without hazard to his State, they may have more thanks in the end, both of the King and this kingdom, who adviſe to lay hold of every overture of peace, though, for the time, his Majeſty, out of his love to both, do a little more ſuffer, in point of honour, than right or

† Sir H. Vane.

reaſon requires; and, in true policy, may bring to paſs, without hazard, that which force cannot do at preſent, but with hazard. The Scots have many ſpies which flock about the King; and they cannot but know how the ſtate of this kingdom ſtands, and be encouraged; knowing how uncertainly a war will be maintained out of prerogative, impoſition, and voluntary contributions. They know our diviſions, and the ſtrength of our combinations; and that they have a party amongſt us, and that we have none amongſt them; and they are a people that can live of nothing, and we that can want nothing, without diſcontentment and mutinying; and our men and horſes ſo unuſed to war, that if his Majeſty ſhould attempt any thing, before they be better exerciſed, the diſhonour is likely to be increaſed, and the conſequence, the ruin of this kingdom. When things are brought to an ill paſs, a bad compoſition is better than a worſe. The King truſts and employs men of that nation, and you ſee how ſome of them have ſerved him; and ſtill things go from bad to worſe, and I am perſuaded, that they will not mend, till all things only for accommodation be taken hold of; paſſing by things which aggravate, and employing temperate men of our own nation, upon meetings of treaties; by which it may appear, his Majeſty intends to govern no other ways but by the laws of that kingdom, the contrary whereof they have divulged to be the cauſe of their wicked rebellion. And if they and the world may be ſatisfied in that, it will be his Majeſty's great honour to paſs by and pardon what is paſt; not by compulſion, but out of his abundant love to both kingdoms, over whom God made him a father. They ſay, the women in Scotland are the chief ſtirrers of this war. I think it not ſo ſhameful for women of England to wiſh well to theſe nations, whether it be by word or writing; yet, I pray you, when you have read this letter, to burn it, that it may not riſe up in any body's judgment but yours, againſt me, to tax my zeal with ignorance or arrogance, who would willingly ſacrifice my own

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life to the quenching of this fire; and I humbly pray God ſo to inflame all you, whom he hath ſet in place of Council, that you may adviſe, without fear of diſpleaſing, for the peace of this kingdom; and ſo to his bleſſing I refer it, and reſt

Your true friend and humble ſervant,

M. WESTMORLAND *.

Apthorp, 6th of May, 1639.

Pacification of Berwick.

At his Majeſty's camp, the 8th of June, 1639.

HIS Majeſty having underſtood of the obedience of the petitioners † in reading his proclamation, as was commanded them, is graciouſly pleaſed ſo far to condeſcend unto their petition, as to admit ſome of them to repair to his Majeſty's camp, upon Monday next, at eight of the clock in the morning, at the Lord General's tent, where they ſhall find ſix perſons of honour and truſt, appointed by his Majeſty, to hear their humble deſires.

JOHN COKE.

But this reference under Mr. Secretary Coke's hand, being not held ſufficient to aſſure the ſafety of the Commiſſioners; his Majeſty was again ſolicited to ſign their ſafe-conduct under his own hand. Whereupon the ſelf-ſame form, which had been ſigned by Mr. Secretary Coke (*mutatis mutandis*) was again returned them upon Sunday night June 9th, ſigned by his Majeſty. By which, eſteem-

* The writer of this very ſenſible and prudent letter was Mary, ſole daughter and heireſs of Sir A. Mildmay, of Apthorpe, in Northamptonſhire. She was wife to Sir Francis Fane, Lord Deſpencer, created Earl of Weſtmorland, by James I.

† The Scotch petition preſented to his Majeſty by the Earl of Dumfermline on the 7th of June, and his Majeſty's anſwer returned the ſame night by Sir Edward Verney, Knight Marſhal, being already printed in Ruſhworth, are here omitted.

ing

ing themſelves aſſured, the Scottiſh Commiſſioners, upon June 10th, ſent word of their coming; which accordingly they did June 11th, being Tueſday, about 10 in the morning, repairing to the tent of the Lord General *.

News being brought of their coming, his Excellency, with the reſt of the Engliſh Commiſſioners, went ſome twenty paces from the tent door, to receive them. His Excellency's tent was guarded by his own troop of horſe, then led by Sir John Digby; and his own company of foot, commanded by Sir John Beaumont; as alſo by the troops of dragoons of Sir Francis Howard, and Capt. Vaughan, both commanded by Col. Trafford, colonel of the dragoons.

His excellency's tent was alſo guarded round about by divers gentlemen, that trailed pikes in his own regiment, that no man might come within the length or compaſs of the cords, or ſo near as to hearken.

Council at his Excellency the Lord General's tent, the 11th of June, 1639.

Preſent. His MAJESTY,

The Lord General,	Earl of Saliſbury,
Earl of Eſſex,	Earl of Berkſhire,
Earl of Holland,	Mr. Treaſurer.
Mr. Secretary Coke,	
Earl of Rothes,	Lord of Loudon,
Earl of Dumfermline,	Sheriff of Tiviotdale.

All theſe Commiſſioners being ſet in the room of conſultation, my Lord General began to ſpeak. Whereupon inſtantly his Majeſty came in, unexpected peradventure to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners; who being ſet, all four, on one ſide, with their backs to the tent door, his Majeſty paſſed by them without taking notice of them,

* Earl of Arundel.

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neither did they kneel, only the Earl of Rothes made ſome offer, as if deſirous to kiſs the King's hand; but his Majeſty taking his chair on the further ſide of the table, all the Commiſſioners ſtood up; and the King commanding all out of the room that were not Commiſſioners, namely the Lord Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord Duke of Lenox, and ſome Lords that waited on his Majeſty, began to ſpeak, ſo near to this purpoſe, as could, by notes or memory of ſome preſent, be collected.

The King.

My Lords, you cannot but wonder at my unexpected coming hither; which I would myſelf have ſpared, were it not to clear myſelf of that notorious ſlander laid upon me, That I ſhut my ears from the juſt complaints of my people in Scotland; which I never did, nor ſhall. But on the other ſide, I ſhall expect from them, to do as ſubjects ought; and upon theſe terms I ſhall never be wanting to them.

Rothes.

To this the Earl of Rothes made anſwer, but with a low voice, that his ſentences could hardly at any diſtance be underſtood. Thus much in general was collected, that the effect of his ſpeech was a juſtification of all their actions.

The King.

My Lord, you go the wrong way in ſeeking to juſtify yourſelves and actions; for though I am not come hither with any purpoſe to aggravate your offences, but to make the faireſt conſtruction of them that they may bear, and lay aſide all differences; yet, if you ſtand upon your juſtification, I ſhall not command but where I am ſure to be obeyed.

Rothes.

Our coming is not to juſtify our actions, or to capitulate, but to ſubmit ourſelves to the cenſure of your Majeſty; if ſo be we have committed any thing contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of our country.

The

The King.

I never took upon me to give end to any difference, but where both parties firſt ſubmitted themſelves unto my cenſure; which, if you will do, I ſhall do you juſtice to the utmoſt of my knowledge, without partiality.

Rothes.

Our religion and conſcience is now in queſtion, which ought to receive another trial. Beſides this, neither have we power of ourſelves to conclude any thing, but to repreſent it to our fellows.

The King.

If you have no power to ſubmit it to my judgment, go on with your juſtification.

Rothes.

This is it which we deſire, that thereby the ſubjects of both kingdoms may come to the truth of our actions; for ye know not the reaſon of our actions, nor we of yours.

The King.

Sure I am, you are never able to juſtify all your actions; the beſt way therefore were, to take my word, and to ſubmit all unto my judgment.

Rothes.

We have reaſon to deſire liberty for our public juſtification, ſeeing our cauſe hath received ſo much wrong, both in the foundation, relation, and in the whole carriage of the buſineſs.

Loudon.

Since your Majeſty is pleaſed to diſlike the way of juſtification, we therefore will deſert it; for our purpoſe is no other but to enjoy the freedom of that religion, which we know your Majeſty and your kingdom do profeſs; and to prevent all ſuch innovations as be contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and all alterations of that religion which we profeſs. Which finding ourſelves likely to be deprived of, we have taken this courſe, wherein we have

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have not behaved ourſelves, nor proceeded, any otherwiſe than becometh loyal ſubjects; and as we are bound to give account to the high God of heaven, our ſole deſires are, that what is point of religion may be judged by the practice of the church eſtabliſhed in that kingdom; wherein we ſeek God's honour in the firſt place.

The King.

Here his Majeſty interrupted this long intended declaration, ſaying, That he would neither anſwer any propoſition which they made, nor receive any, but in writing.

Then they withdrew themſelves to a ſide table, and wrote this following ſupplication:

The humble deſires of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Scotland.

Firſt, It is our humble deſire, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to aſſure us, that the acts for the late aſſembly holden at Glaſgow, by his Majeſty's indiction, ſhall be ratified by the enſuing Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh, July 23d, ſince the peace of the kirk and kingdom cannot admit farther prorogation.

Secondly, That his Majeſty, from his tender care of the preſervation of our religion and laws, will be graciouſly pleaſed to declare and aſſure that it is his will, that all matters eccleſiaſtical be determined by the aſſembly of the kirk, and matters civil, by Parliament; which, for his Majeſty's honour, and keeping peace and order among his ſubjects, in the time of his Majeſty's perſonal abſence, would be holden at ſet times, once in two or three years.

Thirdly, That a bleſſed pacification may be ſpeedily brought about, and his Majeſty's ſubjects may be ſecured, our humble deſire is, that his Majeſty's ſhips, and forces by land, be recalled: That all perſons, ſhips and goods arreſted, be reſtored, and we made ſafe from invaſion: And that all excommunicate perſons, incendiaries, and informers againſt the kingdom (who have out of malice cauſed

theſe commotions for their own private ends) be returned, to ſuffer their deſerved cenſure and puniſhment; and ſome other points, as may beſt conduce to this happy pacification.

As theſe are our humble deſires, ſo it is our grief, that his Majeſty ſhould have been provoked to wrath againſt us, his moſt humble and loving ſubjects; and ſhall be our delight, upon his Majeſty's gracious aſſurance of the preſervation of our religion and laws, to give example to others, of all civil and temporal obedience, which can be required or expected of loyal ſubjects.

The King.

This ſupplication being preſented and read, his Majeſty ſaid, he could give no ſudden anſwer to it; ſubjoining, here you have preſented your deſires; as much as to ſay, Give us all we deſire; which, if no other, than ſettling of your religion and laws eſtabliſhed, I never had other intentions than to ſettle them. His Majeſty withal told them, that their propoſitions were a little too rude at the firſt.

Loudon.

We deſire your Majeſty, that our grounds laid down, may receive the moſt favourable conſtruction.

The King.

I proteſt I have no intention to ſurprize you, but I withal deſire you to conſider, how you ſtand too ſtrictly upon your propoſitions. Here his Majeſty again proteſted, that he intended not to alter any thing, either in their laws or religion, that had been ſettled by ſovereign authority. Neither will I, ſaith he, at all encroach upon your laws by my prerogative; but the queſtion will be at laſt, Who ſhall be the judge of the meaning of thoſe laws? His Majeſty then farther told them, that their pretences were fair, but their actions otherwiſe.

Rothes.

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Rothes.

We desire to be judged by the written word of the laws. Here he proceeded in justifying the assembly at Glasgow.

The King.

You cannot expect the ratification of that assembly, seeing the election of the members of it were not lawful, nor was there any free choice of them.

Rothes.

There was nothing done in it, which was not answerable to the constitutions of the church. Adding, That there is no other way for settling differences in religion, but by such an assembly of the kirk.

The King.

That assembly was neither free nor lawful, and so consequently the proceedings could not be lawful. But when I say one thing, and you another, who shall judge?

Rothes.

The book of the assembly shall be brought to your Majesty to judge; wherein your Majesty shall not find any thing constituted, but what shall be warranted by other General Assemblies.

Loudon.

Here the Lord Loudon began to make a relation of the nature of the assembly, saying, How that in every parish there is a presbyter, and a lay elder who in every assembly is joined with the minister. And this order he affirmed to be so settled by the reformation, as is to be found in the book of discipline, which is authentic of itself, and ever heretofore received, without needing to be confirmed by act of Parliament, it having been continually observed, as valid enough of itself, though it had not so been ratified.

The

The King.

The book of diſcipline was never ratified, either by King or Parliament; but ever rejected by them. Beſides this, there were never in any aſſembly, ſo many lay elders as in this.

Rothes.

Lay elders have been in all aſſemblies, and, in ſome, more than of the clergy. And in this aſſembly, every lay elder was ſo well inſtructed, as that he could give judgment of any one point, which ſhould be called in queſtion before them.

The King.

To affirm thus much of a truth, ſeems very ridiculous; namely, that every illiterate perſon ſhould be able to be a judge of faith and religion. Which yet, his Majeſty ſaid, was very convenient and agreeable to their diſpoſition; for by that means they might chuſe their own religion.

Loudon.

Here this Lord began by ſeveral arguments, to juſtify that aſſembly, affirming it to have power to puniſh any offences. Againſt this his Majeſty excellently diſputed; and if any reaſon would have ſatisfied them, they might there have been ſatisfied. But the time being far paſſed (for by this time it was full one o'clock) the Lord Loudon deſired his Majeſty to know what grounds they ſhould go upon.

The King.

Do you get power to know what your full deſire is, with your reaſons for it. Lay down alſo, that you deſire nothing but the ſettling of your laws and religion; and that you acknowledge my Sovereignty, and will yield me all temporal and civil obedience.

Loudon.

We beſeech your Majeſty, we may have a note for our direction.

The King.

It is not fit for us to give it, but for you to ſay what you deſire.

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Loudon.

Our desires are, to enjoy our liberties, according to the laws.

Rothes.

Then that Earl offered to prove, that there had been nothing done in that general assembly contrary to the laws.

Loudon.

At length, this Lord, by his Majesty's commandment, drew a note, to this purpose, how that their desires were only to enjoy their religion and liberty, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of that kingdom; and to clear the particular grounds of such their desires; and what other things proved not so, they were not to insist upon them.

The King.

I have all this while discoursed with disadvantage, seeing what I say, I am obliged to make good; but ye are men of honour too; and therefore, whatever ye assent unto, if others refuse, ye are also obliged to make it good.

Then, Thursday morning being appointed for a second meeting, his Majesty went to his pavilion to dinner. All the Commissioners were feasted by his Excellency. After dinner nothing was publicly debated; only some private conferences and discourses passed for a while betwixt several parties; for within an hour, or little more, after dinner, the Scottish Commissioners departed to their camp at Dunce.

The note, forementioned to be drawn by the Lord Loudon, containing their humble desires, was this which followeth, and was presented the same 11th of June.

Memorandum: Written by the Lord Loudon's own hand.

" That our desires are only for the enjoying of our religion and " liberty, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of his Ma- " jesty's kingdom.

" To

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" To clear, by ſufficient grounds, that the particulars which we " humbly crave, are ſuch; and ſhall not inſiſt to crave any point " which is not ſo warranted; and that we humbly offer all civil and " temporal obedience to his Majeſty, which can be required or ex- " pected of loyal ſubjects.

Hereunto, on Thurſday following, was this following anſwer returned; " That whereas his Majeſty hath received, the 11th of June, a ſhort paper of the general grounds and limits of their humble deſires, he is graciouſly pleaſed to make this anſwer; that if their deſires be only the enjoying of their religion and liberty, according to the eccleſiaſtical and civil laws of his Majeſty's kingdom of Scotland, his Majeſty doth not only agree to the ſame but ſhall always protect them to the uttermoſt of his power; and if they ſhall not inſiſt upon any thing but that which is to be warranted, his Majeſty will moſt willingly and readily condeſcend to it; ſo that, in the mean time, they pay unto him that civil and temporal obedience, which can be juſtly required and expected of loyal ſubjects."

At his Majeſty's Camp,
13 June, 1639.

To their ſupplication and memorandum before, the Lords Covenanters, on Thurſday June 13, added alſo this following.

" Reaſons and grounds of our humble deſires.

" We did firſt humbly deſire a ratification of the acts of the late aſſembly in the enſuing Parliament, Firſt, becauſe the civil power is keeper of both tables; and where the kirk and kingdom are one body, conſiſting of the ſame members, there can be no firm peace, nor ſtability of order, except the miniſters of the kirk, in their way, preſs the obedience of civil laws and magiſtrate, and the civil power add their ſanction and authority to the conſtitutions of the kirk. Secondly, becauſe the late general aſſembly indicted by his Majeſty, was lawfully conſtituted in all the members, according to the inſtitution and order preſcribed by acts of former aſſemblies. Thirdly,

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becauſe no particular is enacted in the late aſſembly, which is not grounded upon the acts of preceding aſſemblies, and is either expreſsly contained in them, or by neceſſary conſequences may be deduced from them. That the Parliament be kept without prorogation, his Majeſty knows how neceſſary it is, ſince the peace of the kirk and kingdom call for it, without longer delay.

We did ſecondly deſire, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare and aſſure, that it is his royal will, that all matters eccleſiaſtical be determined by the aſſemblies of the kirk; and matters civil, by the Parliament, and other inferior judicatories eſtabliſhed by law; becauſe we know no other way of the preſervation of our religion and laws; and becauſe matters ſo different in their nature, ought to be treated reſpectively in their own proper judicatories. It was alſo deſired, that Parliaments might be holden at ſet times, as once in two or three years, by reaſon of his Majeſty's perſonal abſence, which hindereth his ſubjects in their complaints and grievances, to have immediate acceſs unto his Majeſty's preſence.

And where his Majeſty requires us to limit our deſires to the enjoying of our religion and liberties, according to the eccleſiaſtical and civil laws reſpective, we are heartily content to have the occaſion to declare, that we never intended farther, than the enjoying of our religion and liberties; and that, all this time paſt, it was far from our thoughts or deſires, to diminiſh the royal authority of our native King and dread Sovereign; or to make any invaſion upon the kingdom of England; which are the calumnies forged and ſpread againſt us by the malice of our adverſaries; and for which, we humbly deſire, that, in his Majeſty's juſtice, they may have their own cenſure and puniſhment.

Thirdly, we deſired a bleſſed pacification, and did expreſs the moſt ready and powerful means, which we could conceive, for bringing the ſame ſpeedily to paſs, leaving other means, ſerving for that end, to his Majeſty's royal conſideration and greater wiſdom."

On

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On Thurſday morning the ſaid four commiſſioners, together with Mr. Henderſon, and Archibald Johnſon, Clerk of the late aſſembly, came again to the Lord General's Tent. They being ſet, in came the king and my Lord Marquis. Henderſon ſpake much of the power of the aſſembly; and Rothes, in plain terms, affirmed the power of it to be ſo great, that, were he the King, it had authority to excommunicate him alſo. Others charged ſeveral things upon the Marquis, and in particular, that many of their ſupplications delivered unto him, never came to the King's hand. Theſe the Marquis anſwered. But the notes taken at the conference are not yet perfected. To-morrow, June 15, the Scottiſh come again, for whom this anſwer is this afternoon prepared, as my Lord General * directs me to ſignify to your Grace; "that the King will have the laſt aſſembly abrogated, and in lieu of it, allow them to hold another preſently, at which his Majeſty will be preſent; till which aſſembly be finiſhed, the army ſhall not ſtir from hence." But my Lord thinks all things will not end peaceably†.

Private Warrant ‡ from King Charles I. *to the Marquis of Hamilton, to converſe with the Covenanters.*

CHARLES R. July 17th, 1639.

17th July.

WE do by theſe preſents not only authoriſe, but require you to uſe all the means you can, with ſuch of the covenanters as come to Berwick, to learn which way they intend the eſtate of Biſhops ſhall be ſupplied in Parliament; what our power ſhall be in

* This narrative ſeems to have been ſent by the Earl of Arundel's direction, to Archbiſhop Laud, from the camp.

† The war broke out again in a few months.

‡ As Burnet, in his memoirs of Hamilton, has already mentioned, though in an inaccurate way, this extraordinary warrant, it is thought not improper to publiſh it exactly from the original.

eccleſiaſtical

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ecclesiastical affairs; and what farther their intentions are. For which end, you will be necessitated to speak that language, which, if you were called to an account for by us, you might suffer for it. These are therefore to assure you, and, if need be, hereafter to testify to others, that whatsoever you shall say to them, to discover their intentions in these particulars, you shall neither be called in question for the same, nor yet it prove any ways prejudicial to you; nay, though you should be accused by any thereupon.

To our right trusty and well beloved cousin and counsellor, the Marquis Hamilton.

Berwick,
July 17th, 1639.

A relation concerning the Scots proceedings; their natures and present estates, with their intentions, and some ways to animate this country against them, and divide themselves. By one who hath long resided there.

Feb. 10th, 1639-40.

10th Feb. THEIR covenant, the ground of all, with the new additions, namely, abjuring of Episcopacy, the five articles of Perth, and high Commission, with ratifying the assembly of Glasgow as free and lawful, is, by the second subscription and oaths thereto, with the general bond for maintaining thereof, so deeply imprinted into the hearts of the ignorant common people, blind zealous burghers, and proud gentry, by their ministers continual thundering out of the pulpit, that it is utter damnation for them to slide from the least point thereof. This, seconded with their poverty, fills them with desperate resolutions. And now, though his Majesty hath permitted them

them ſatisfaction in eccleſiaſtical affairs, they will defend, as they term it, the ancient laws and liberties of their country. The commons are ſlaves to the gentry; ſo take away the cauſe, and the effect ceaſeth; either by granting them ſatisfaction in the church affairs, and a taxation and rate of the kingdom; or by utter deſtruction.

Wherein great wiſdom may perhaps pull the weeds out of the corn; and nothing, if it could be well managed, would ſatisfy the commons ſo much, as privately to conduce with one man in every town; and he, to move his neighbour with a true and real relation of his Majeſty's power and clemency; and that, if they will ſtand together for his Majeſty, they ſhall have all debts forgiven that they owe their landlords; and ſhall hereafter hold free * of his Majeſty, and pay but half the rents they now pay. The miſerable poverty and ſlavery they be now in, will make them give ear to this, perhaps.

If peace cannot be concluded, the ſooner his Majeſty's forces be at the border, it will be beſt; for then will they riſe in a confuſion, and the commons being moſt unſkilful in their arms, will do more miſchief among themſelves than their enemies; their monies cannot be gathered ſo ſoon, and men cannot live on a year. This will keep them from tilling the ground, and ſowing the ſame; which, if his Majeſty can keep them in by land and ſea, will reduce them, in a year, to ſuch extremity, that they will hate one another.

His Majeſty's forces were beſt to go down as privately as may be, and the whole army gather on a ſudden †; and then to bring up the forces by ſea; (only a ſhip or two may attend, till then, that no more arms be brought in ‡) for if the ſea forces come up firſt, they will preſently ruſh into arms and invade, for they reſolve that. Be-

* Aboliſh juriſdictions and vaſſalage.

† That was impoſſible.

‡ That was good advice, and in effect no care was fitter to intercept ſupplies of arms and ammunition.

ſides,

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ſides, the poor ſoldiers, flocked home from all quarters, there is 100,000 men in their country worſe than nothing; theſe they will gather and furniſh out; who, they ſay, ſhall invade this country. The report of whoſe riches being compared with their poverty, covetouſneſs ſets their teeth on edge.

They are erecting a powder-work at Leith.

They have not a magazine of powder; that which they have, is divided in the country, and I believe moſt part ſpent; there is none in the merchants hands. I verily believe 30,000 men, in one day, would ſpend all the powder in that country; but the certain quantity they have cannot be known.

For armour, they have pikes and muſkets for about 30,000 men, new and old, with that which came ſince the pacification.

Cannon, they have ſix braſs demi culverins, that came with the ſaid arms. They will have of the ſmall iron ordnance, with what is in their ſhips, about fifty; and they ſay the Earl of Seaforth hath one hundred ſmall iron pieces, that they have bought from him in the north, a hundred miles from Aberdeen; thoſe, with fourteen or fifteen-field pieces, is all I know of.

Balmerino had about two hundred muſkets and bandeliers with powder, which came from Holland about a month ſince. For ſhipping, they have, within the Firth, about eighty ſail, all betwixt forty and one hundred and twenty ton; except two or three, which will extend to about ſix hundred ton; ſome carry two, ſome four, and ſome ſix ſmall iron pieces; they are all of the Yarmouth and Holland building.

For monies, they were exceeding bare, till theſe two ſhips arrived from Spain, about fourteen days ago. Samuel Lockhart, Sir James Lockhart's brother, knows what money they had; he was in Cadiz, and came merchant of one of them; he is here in London. I do not believe there was 10,000 l. in the whole kingdom before, except ſome that is hoarded up. It muſt be a great ſcarcity when

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one of the beſt Lords of the covenant, offered his own bond and two ſureties, and could not have 250 l. to borrow.

The Engliſh merchants were ever ſince the pacification there, and have brought away great ſtores of monies; but they make uſe of his Majeſty's mint-houſe, which ſhould not be, during theſe troubles; at leaſt, it were moſt convenient the irons were removed to the caſtle; then, they will not give in their plate to coin, as they did laſt year.

And for animating this country to follow his Majeſty, and ſtand in their own defence, and keep out invaders, and beſtow both their means and lives for the liberty of them and their poſterity; there is no way ſo good, as to ſend general information to all the Miniſters within this kingdom, and to let all ſee what the Scots intend, that is, ſudden invaſion; and let them know, that in former ages their diviſions and ſecurity have made them ſubject to divers foreign nations; and on the contrary, when they followed freely to their kings, to defend them, their fame ſounded through all the world.

And becauſe there be divers Scots covenanters about Court, who give intelligence (both by the ordinary, and poſters and journiers for Scotland) a courſe ſhould be taken that the letters may be opened; and that the Governor of Berwick may give order for ſome ſtrict ſearching and examining the Scots travellers; for many that go up and down England, with Scots linen, &c. ſcatter and ſow errors, diviſions, and diſſenſions in the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects, which ſhould be prevented; and the Covenanters about Court ſhould be diſcharged.

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Secretary Windebanke to the Lord Conway.

My Lord,

14th Auguſt. HIS Majeſty having underſtood from a very good hand, that the rebels of Scotland have a deſign upon the town of Newcaſtle, and in his wiſdom conſidering the dangerous blow, that the taking of a place of that importance would give to his affairs, hath ſeriouſly adviſed upon a means to prevent it; and therefore hath commanded me to ſignify his pleaſure unto your Lordſhip, that you, immediately upon view of the hills that command the town toward Scotland, and likewiſe any other hill or place, from whence the town may be battered or incommodated by the enemy, do forthwith cauſe redoubts to be erected, and lines and trenches to be drawn from one redoubt to another, and ſufficient numbers of men to be put into thoſe redoubts and fortifications, for the defence and ſecuring of thoſe places. And if peradventure you are not furniſhed with ready monies for ſuch a work, his Majeſty's pleaſure is, that your Lordſhip will cauſe ſuch inhabitants of the town, as you ſhall think fit (ſeeing their own ſafeties are ſo much concerned herein) to labour and work in theſe fortifications, and to haſten the perfecting of them; for which, his Majeſty is pleaſed to promiſe they ſhall receive, out of the ſupply of monies that ſhall be ſent thither, ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhall be fitting. His Majeſty expects your Lordſhip's diligences herein, according to the importance of the buſineſs, and a ſpeedy account of your proceedings, and of the execution of theſe his commandments.

The Lord General * being not well, his Majeſty hath commanded me to give your Lordſhip theſe orders; and this is all I

* Earl of Northumberland.

have

have in commiſſion from his Majeſty; which referring to your Lordſhip's wiſdom, I reſt, &c.

Upon the receipt of your Lordſhip's of the 10th, I directed an anſwer to you the laſt night, with other commandments from his Majeſty.

Minutes of Cabinet Council.

London, Auguſt 16th, 1640.

His Majeſty.

PROPOSED, His own going to-morrow. Auguſt 16th.

Mr. Comptroller *.

Propoſed, That it ſhould be conſidered whether his Majeſty ſhall not come ſhort to do any good, if they † come in ſo ſuddenly; and then, whether it may not be dangerous to his Majeſty to forſake theſe parts in this conjuncture.

Every Lord Lieutenant to go into his own ſhire, and to have the trained bands in a readineſs, whenſoever his Majeſty ſhall give warning.

Lord Keeper ‡.

He will not ſpeak of his Majeſty's going, it is ſo determined; but if he do go, not only the trained bands, but the whole kingdom is bound in perſon and eſtate to ſerve: *This, Hatton and Croke, in caſe of invaſion.*

* Sir Thomas Jermyn.

† The Scots.

‡ Finch. He was an artful courtier, and eloquent ſpeaker. He eſcaped abroad; outlived the civil war; was a judge of the Regicides in 1660; and after that, heard of no more.

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His Majeſty will go directly to York, and ſtay but one night upon the way, and there he ſhall certainly know what the enemy does; and he will govern himſelf according to the occaſion. No honour againſt the rebels. He will be careful what to do.

The trained bands will riſe the more willingly for his Majeſty's preſence; though they will riſe willingly with the Lord Lieutenant.

Holland and *Saliſbury* *.

What, if the country will refuſe upon their own charge?

Lord Lyttleton †.

By the commiſſion of array, they have gone upon the charges of the county; but poſitively, upon the ſudden, he dares not give an opinion.

Lord Keeper.

By the commiſſion of array, they are bound at their own charges; yet ſome doubts have been made, in caſe of going out of their own counties.

He is of opinion, that whoſoever is of ability, ought to ſerve, when the King goes in perſon.

Whether for wages, is the queſtion.

His Majeſty means inſtantly to go to York. He does not expect to be adviſed to it; but if good reaſon be not ſhewn to the contrary, he will do it.

Lord Marquis of Hamilton.

If it be only the defence of Newcaſtle, he thinks it may be done without the King.

The King.

Thinks, if he come there, he ſhall do more than defend Newcaſtle; but if they be not come in, he thinks he ſhall ſtay them; if they be, to cut off proviſions from them; and this, without loſing

* Objections made by theſe two Lords.

† Sir E. Lyttleton, Lord Chief Juſtice of Common Pleas, afterwards Lord Keeper.

any

any man's life. He thinks he ſhall be ſafer there than here, if they ſhould take Newcaſtle; and he thinks he ſhall the rather ſecure his wife and children. CHARLES I. 1640.

Earl Holland.

Whether the King have money when he ſhall come there?

The King.

Is ſure to have money for a great while, and ſhall have more if he go himſelf, than if he ſtay.

Lord Keeper.

What is to be done for advancement of this reſolution? He thinks the ſubject will not be in ſo good temper, as under the King.

The King.

Thinks he ſhall ſhew them, that this pamphlet is not true: If he ſit ſtill, it will encourage them, and diſhonour his ſervants here; eſpecially now the Lord General is not well.

Lord Lieutenant †.

It is a charge received with too much heat, to be entertained ſo ſuddenly. He ſpeaks only to the time.

He is not ſatisfied that there is ſo inſtant a danger of the loſs of Newcaſtle ‡.

The only thing is, to march up the men to Newcaſtle, and ſo long as that may be done, it is not important whether ſix or eight days.

The Lord Conway to take the trained bands of Durham; and the two thouſand five hundred horſe to be in readineſs; till then, his Majeſty's going is not neceſſary.

He neither conceives the danger of Newcaſtle ſo great, nor that they will come in; and if they ſhould, it would not be the

† Earl of Strafforde. ‡ Lord Strafforde was often miſtaken from his heat of temper.

worſe

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worſe for his Majeſty's ſervice. And therefore, his Majeſty not to ſtir too ſoon.

The King.

Anſwers and ſays, The news of their coming in, is not new, but of ſix months date. He fears he ſhall rather come too late. No man will undertake to ſecure Newcaſtle *.

Lord Mar †.

Whether the army, ill affectioned, and ill paid, will be the better for his Majeſty's preſence?

Lord Cottington.

There muſt be ſome General to march up the army; the ſooner the better.

As Newcaſtle is now, the Lord Conway thinks it in danger; but if Jacob Aſhley come up with the army, he is not of that opinion.

The King.

Propoſes Wedneſday next to be the lateſt.

Mr. Comptroller.

The Mayor of London to be called and ſpoken to roundly, and clemently.

The King's Anſwer.

If he ſhould ſtay ſo long, the opportunity loſt. He had ſpoken with the Queen. She will ſtay here, until the plague be relented, and then to Hampton Court. The Lords to attend her Majeſty.

Letters to be written to the Lords Lieutenants to be ſigned by his Majeſty; commiſſions of array to them and to the Sheriffs jointly and ſeverally.

A declaration againſt thoſe that have received and ſpread the laſt pamphlet.

* The King judged much better than Lord Strafforde.

† So the M S. It may be either *Lord Marſhal,* or *Lord Mar.* of Hamilton.

The

The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to be here on Tueſday.
Provoſt Marſhall. The billetted ſoldiers.

Lord Archbiſhop Canterbury.

Some miniſters have convened to conſider, whether the oath * ſhall be taken. Whether the L. B. † ſhall expect till the King be petitioned; or whether they ſhall take an order with thoſe that refuſe the oath?

Some petitions are coming already, as Mr. Seymour and others. The oath to be tendered before November.

The King anſwered,

Let it alone to October, and if he give not order to the contrary, they muſt then tender it. In the mean time, thoſe that are to be preferred to livings, to have it tendered.

Prevent any meetings and coming to the King with petitions, as much as may be.

If his Majeſty will give *the Lord Archbiſhop* a diſpenſation ‡, he will be ſatisfied.

If there be cauſe, the king will give a diſpenſation.

Mr. Treaſurer Vane ‖ *to Secretary Windebanke.*

Right Honourable,

HIS Majeſty arriving here laſt night, met divers diſpatches from the North bearing the paſſage of the Scotch army over the Tweed, on Thurſday laſt, as you will ſee by the two encloſed copies; the ſame advertiſement was confirmed from other hands; and one who ſaw them paſs arrived here, and relates, that they continued paſſing from four in the afternoon till the next morning, to 23d Auguſt.

* Oath of the new canons. † Lords Biſhops. ‡ Not to exact the oath.
‖ Sir Henry Vane was Treaſurer of the Houſehold, as well as Secretary of State.

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the number (as is conceived) of 12,000 men; that 6,000 more were to follow, and other 4,000 quartered not far from them, to paſs as occaſion ſhould require. Upon theſe advertiſements, letters have been preſently written to the Lord Conway, Sir John Conyers, Sir Jacob Aſhley, and other commanders on the frontiers, for to prepare againſt the Rebels farther paſſage into this kingdom. The Lord Conway is already marched with a thouſand horſe, and as many muſqueteers, for to make head, and give ſome oppoſition, whilſt our troops gather into a body; and that Sir Jacob Aſhley fortify and enquarter with the foot he hath, near Newcaſtle, on Northumberland ſide, in caſe they ſhould attempt any thing on that town. His Majeſty hath given order for the raiſing of the trained bands of this country, with ſuch a train of artillery as can for the preſent be made ready; for the furthering of which deſign, it is reſolved to remain here three or four days, and then march in the head of them to join with the reſt. The Biſhop of Durham hath alſo directions for the diſpoſing of the trained bands, and ſuch other ſtrength as can be raiſed in that county, for the ſecuring of all the paſſes therein; and to take order, that neceſſary proviſions be brought in for the ſupply of thoſe of this county, in their march through the Biſhoprick, that no diſorders may happen by want thereof. The Lord Clifford is going into Weſtmorland, to draw there ſuch forces as he can unto a head, for to be ready upon all occaſions; and letters are gone to the Deputy Lieutenants of Cumberland and Northumberland, for to put their counties alſo in ſtate to defend the paſſages.

You ſhall receive here encloſed, a letter from his Majeſty for the Queen. You will be pleaſed to give her knowledge of this diſpatch in the firſt place; and ſo to quicken the Lords of the finances, and thoſe principally entruſted with his Majeſty's affairs, that there may be no want of money, at leaſt that we may have ſupplies for the army timely; whatſoever letters may have been written by way, in his

* Majeſty's

Majeſty's journey to York, yet you ſee I am not, nor have been, deceived in my intelligence of the Scots, from the beginning. God ſend unity amongſt ourſelves, and I ſhall leſs apprehend any thing the Rebels can do. I am very ſorry for my Lord Lieutenant's * abſence; and the King tells me, he cannot be here ſooner than Wedneſday night. His Majeſty told me of the diſpatch you ſent him, and that to the Marquis in my abſence; that he had returned it to you apoſtiled with his direction; I ſhall by the next ſay ſomething to you of *Witherings* which I have diſcovered in the way, as I came down; but ſuch is at preſent the condition of his Majeſty's affairs, that I have little leiſure to think of any thing that concerns myſelf; however I am, CHARLES I. 1640.

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

AS I was cloſing the great pacquet, and yours ſealed, this piece of intelligence was brought unto me, the copy whereof I now ſend you. I do not believe they are 40,000 ſtrong; but they may be betwixt 20, and 30,000 horſe and foot †; they certainly lay at Millfield, two or three miles from my Lord Gray's houſe at Chillingham, on Friday night laſt. They are now fourteen miles from Alnwicke; and had they not been hindered by great rains that fell on Saturday, I do much apprehend they would have been at Newcaſtle before we ſhould have been ready for them. You, and my 23d Auguſt.

* Lord Strafforde.

† This was an amazing force for Scotland alone to raiſe, take it at the loweſt.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Lords in the South, ſhould do well to beſtir yourſelves for money, and in time to think how to be provided to raiſe an army in the South; though I hope there will be no cauſe: for my opinion is, the Scots will put on their point, if they get one advantage. I beſeech you preſent my ſervice to my Lord Marſhal, and tell him, by the next he ſhall hear from me more of this ſubject. God ſpeed his Majeſty and his armies well, and ſend us a happy meeting. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

York, 23d Auguſt, 1640.

H. VANE.

Copy of the Lord Conway's Letter to Mr. Treaſurer, ſent to the Lord Cottington, by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Mr. Treaſurer, Auguſt 21, 1640.

21ſt Auguſt.

NOW comes one to me, who tells me, that the Scotch army is marching in England; they were at one o'clock at a little village over-againſt Ford Caſtle, they were marching towards Woller; and it is thought that they will quarter this night at Middleton Hall. I am going towards them, and am to march to-morrow morning by three of the clock. If we are both thus diligent, we may meet before long. So I reſt.

P. S. I ſend the letter of Sir John Clavering, which I received when I had writ this; his man that brought it, was in their army.

Divers Engliſh were there. They hinder none from coming or going; but if any ride from them, they endeavour to take him. He thinks that they will quarter this night at Woller; if they purpoſe to come to Newcaſtle, they may be there, as the man thinks, by Tueſday; ſo that they will be there as ſoon as the ſoldiers that come out of Yorkſhire, &c. CHARLES I. 1640.

Morpeth,
the 21ſt Auguſt, 1640.

Sir H. Vane to Windebanke.

Sir,

YOUR diſpatch of the 22d, I received yeſterday morning at eight of the clock, which, as ſoon as his Majeſty had read, he gave unto me, and with it, order to make you anſwer to the ſeveral points therein contained that were neceſſary. Firſt, concerning the Lord Mayor's anſwer, in the name of the city, both for preſent and loan; it was no other than his Majeſty expected; and for that of the Eaſt India buſineſs, he leaves it to the committee's wiſdom and dexterity; out of which he hopes for a good effect, not out of the affections of thoſe they have to deal withal. 25th Auguſt.

Touching the 8,000 pounds worth of powder, the city propoſes now to buy, his Majeſty is of the ſame opinion with the Lords. For the hundred barrels you mention, it is true, that ſuch a propoſition was iſſued by his Majeſty's warrant, when the diſtemper firſt began at Lambeth, at my Lord Mayor's ſuit, on the behalf of the city, but they were to pay for the ſame. If you ſpeak with my Lord Mayor and Mr. Wiſeman, they will not deny it, I preſume; and therefore it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the Lord Treaſurer call for the monies from them, for the ſame; and for what you repreſent

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concerning the enhancing of the coin, his Majeſty approves the reſolution the Lords of the Committee have taken therein.

Having given you account, to the particular points his Majeſty held neceſſary, in your diſpatch; I ſhall acquaint you how at preſent the ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs is in theſe parts; and that you may the better know the ſtrength of the rebels now marching in England, I ſhall refer you to a letter of the Lord Conway, and a copy of one to the Lord Marquis, from the Lord Loudon; both which ye ſhall receive here encloſed; by which alſo you will underſtand the ſtate of Newcaſtle, and what I ſent you in my laſt, if the rebels uſe diligence and march thither (which nothing hitherto hath retarded, but the great waters which fell on Saturday laſt) it is conceived in danger. Sir Jacob Aſhley hath done all that a gallant man could do, to put the town in a defence; the Mayor and governors in this exigent, ſpare neither their purſes, hands, or any thing elſe, wherein they may aſſiſt.

The county of Durham hath raiſed all their trained bands, horſe and foot, and two thouſand men more at their own charge, to defend the Tyne water. This is the condition of theſe parts; which is conceived by his Majeſty not to be ſecure, conſidering the ſtrength of the rebels, and the little time they may peradventure give unto Newcaſtle, if that be their deſign.

His Majeſty yeſterday ſpake with the Lords, Colonels, and Gentlemen of this county, to diſpoſe them to riſe with all the power and force of the ſame, to march to the river of Tees, being their confines, to defend the paſſes upon the ſame; offering himſelf to lead them; and here I muſt tell you, had not his Majeſty been here in perſon, I do not conceive it had been poſſible to have induced this county to have riſen by any other means; ſo great was the diſtemper when his Majeſty arrived here, And by this you ſee, that the perſon of a King is always worth 20,000 men at a pinch. This force, his Majeſty hopes to have marching by the 3d of next month,

with a train of artillery of thirty pieces; ſo, as by this account, you ſee his Majeſty hath not been idle, but moſt active and diligent.

I am now, by his Majeſty's order, ſending out letters, under the ſignet, to the nine ſhires ſouth of York, that you have already diſpatched unto, to riſe with all the force they can make, to come to the confines of their ſeveral counties, neareſt to this place, to attend his Majeſty's farther orders. The bordering counties have had alſo their orders from his Majeſty, to put themſelves into a vigorous defence.

And having now given you an account how his Majeſty hath paſſed his time ſince his coming hither, I am commanded by him to tell you (which you are to impart to the Committee) that without money, and that ſpeedily, all theſe his Majeſty's diligences will be fruſtrate, and the kingdom in danger; and therefore he commands that 20,000l. be ſent away upon the receipt hereof, with the treaſurer of the army; 20,000l. more, to be ſent away the week after; and that the Lords care be ſuch, that now at firſt there be no want of monies for the armies. This you are principally to recommend to the Lords Treaſurer and Cottington, and moſt eſpecially the laſt; you are to repreſent unto the Committee, from his Majeſty, that incredulity, and too much deſpiſing of the rebels ſtrength, hath brought his Majeſty and State into a great ſtrait, both of time and danger, which imports the good and ſafety of all. This he expects ſhould be redeemed. You are, in the firſt place, to communicate this diſpatch with her Majeſty; and ſo much as you ſhall think fit, with the Lords of the Council. And ſo I reſt,

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

H. VANE.

York,
this 25th of Auguſt, 1640.

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The Same to the Same.

Sir,

28th Auguſt. I SEND you here incloſed, a letter from Sir John Conyers *, which came in my packet, but his Majeſty broke it up. You ſhall alſo receive the copies of two letters my Lord Conway hath ſent me, of the freſheſt date, by which you will ſee the ſtrength of the Scots; who, beſides what I ſend you from him, I am juſt now advertiſed, that they are marched to the Tyne-ſide, and have left Newcaſtle; which, if they paſs, we ſhall be put to it. I wiſh theſe things had been foreſeen in time; you know what my opinion hath been long, both of their ſtrength, and of a party in England. His Majeſty is endeavouring all he can, to hinder their paſſage. My Lord Conway is gone with all the horſe, and Sir Jacob Aſhley with four thouſand foot, on this ſide the river, to ſtop them; but it is fordable in ſo many places, that it is difficult; but we muſt do our beſt. My Lord Lieutenant is this day fallen very ſick and ill; he purpoſed to have gone towards Newcaſtle to-morrow; but the King hath ſtayed him until Saturday; the truth is, he is not well.

The Scots pay for all they take, unleſs they meet with a recuſant, and them they plunder. They have begun with Sir William Fenwicke, and Mr. Wray of Northumberland; the latter, they have taken from him to a great value, and almoſt undone. All the country in Northumberland have driven their goods away, and come into Newcaſtle; which, I may tell you, runs a hazard, if they will come before it; as you will ſee by my Lord Conway's letter, it will run a hazard. If the Scots paſs the Tyne into the biſhopric, they will ſtrike betwixt the King's army at Newcaſtle and Durham, amongſt the churchmen, where are alſo divers fat recuſants; where

* Governor of Berwick; which town the Scots left behind them unattempted.

they

they may peradventure refreſh their army; if they advance ſtill on ſouthward, it is then to be apprehended they have certainly a party amongſt us. I ſend you, by his Majeſty's command alſo, in a paper here incloſed, divers commiſſions of array to be drawn to the gentlemen of Yorkſhire there named. It is done by my Lord Lieutenant's advice, and therefore you are to give warrant to Mr. Attorney for the drawing thereof accordingly, and to ſpeed it for the King's hand, with all poſſible diligence; or rather, becauſe it requires haſte, let it be diſpatched with one of your blanks, if it may be. His Majeſty intends on Saturday to remove to a place near the confines of Yorkſhire, to a place called Croft Brigg. And ſo I reſt, &c. CHARLES I. 1640.

York,
this 28th of Auguſt, 1640.

H. VANE.

The Lord Conway's Letter to Mr. Treaſurer.

Morpeth, 24th Auguſt.

THE laſt night came a pacquet in a black box, directed for the King's affairs, as the poſt told me, from the Scotch army; this day, a captain of horſe, as he ſaith upon diſcontent, came from the Scotch army; he was brought in by a party of ours; he ſaith, that the foot are 25,000, the horſe 4000; I have by divers heard, that the foot is ſo ſtrong, but the horſe I have not heard to be more than 3000. This man ſaith, that theſe are all the beſt horſe of Scotland taken from every part; he ſaith alſo, that they do certainly expect a party in England, which may peradventure be, if the King do get a blow; they may at Bockenfield moor, within four or five miles of this place, to-morrow. They deal very ſubtilely; they hurt no man in any kind; they pay for what they take; ſo that the country doth give them all the aſſiſtance they can. Many of the country gentlemen do come to them, entertain and feaſt them; one of 24th Auguſt.

CHARLES I. 1640.

of them is Mr. Carr of Forde. They did ſend to Sir John Clavering to come to them, complaining that the people of the country did raiſe their prices; that he and the gentlemen of the country would do well to put ſuch order as might be equal; becauſe that when their monies ſhould be exhauſted by their demands, they ſhould not know how to live. This, I hear, was the manner of the German war; and by this means they will bring the country into contribution. In my opinion, their army is not deſpicable. Newcaſtle, I aſſure myſelf, will be defended as long as it is poſſible; and, in my opinion, it will be beſt that the horſe be about Hexham; the paſſage over the Tyne ought alſo to be defended; but there goes more to it than to bid it be done. If the Scots can be ſtopt at the Tyne, it will be a great work; it will be requiſite that juſt meaſures be taken of their forces, and of ours; and that we neither overvalue ourſelves, nor undervalue them; they will be ſo beſt reſiſted; and the blows which we ſhall receive, will fall the leſs heavy; but if great diligence be not uſed, they will prevent the defence of the river. They march in ſuch order, that there can be no advantage taken of them; and they do ſo order their affairs with the country, that they are well received. Northumberland is far from the heart, and the loſs is not yet perceived; but their manner of proceeding here, will be the ſame in other places, and will work the ſame effects. I ſhould be very glad to have Sir John Conyers here; he would be of much more uſe here than at Berwick. I believe you will receive from Sir Jacob Aſhley an account of Newcaſtle. I am this day returned to Morpeth, and was this morning viſited in my quarter by the Scotch horſe, who came only to diſcover, therefore could not abide us; but they were very well mounted, ſo that we could not overtake them. &c.

The Scotch army doth this night quarter at Newtown, their horſe at Lemmaton; they will be here to-morrow or the next day.

Lord Conway to Mr. Treaſurer.

Newcaſtle, Auguſt 26th, 1640.

THE laſt night the Scotch did lodge near Morpeth; this day they are gone by it, and are within ſeven miles of this place; but it is thought that they will not come hither, but that they will paſs the river of Tyne. There was order given to caſt up works againſt the fords at Newborne, and two fords more. At Newborne is a regiment to defend it; but what is that? There are more than eight or ten places, where they may paſs. If you do not take good heed, they will be with you, the troops being divided 12,000 foot and 500 horſe with the King, and 10,000 foot and the horſe here. If they have a mind to take Newcaſtle; if they come to Gateſide, they may do it very quickly; for there are no works made on that ſide the river; neither could there for want of time; but I believe that they will not come hither. You ſhall do well to conſider well what is to be done. I will, with all the horſe, go, and, if it be poſſible, ſtop their paſſage, or hinder them; there are 2000 foot to go with me, and four pieces of cannon; the Biſhop's * men are written for, and they were warned four days ago. Having no more for this preſent, I reſt, &c. 26th Auguſt.

* The whole army ſhould have been brought to Newcaſtle, to fight the Scots on paſſing the Tyne.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Mr. Treaſurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke.

Right Honourable,

29th Auguſt. UPON the 28th, about two in the afternoon, the Lord Conway having drawn out of Newcaſtle two thouſand five hundred foot, and all the horſe, marched, with two pieces of cannon, to the ſouth ſide of the Tyne, the Scots being on the north, with their whole army, intending to paſs the ſame at Newborne. This his Majeſty's forces endeavoured to hinder, having made ſome works and retrenchments, to defend our foot againſt the fury of their cannon; but the enemy had planted their artillery with ſo much advantage, that they beat our foot out of their works; whereupon the horſe began to paſs the water; which Commiſſary Wilmot perceiving, himſelf, with a Captain or two more, charged them, and ſo home, that the enemy retired; but theſe horſe not being ſeconded, the enemy recharged them with all their horſe. Commiſſary Wilmot, in this encounter, behaved himſelf like a gallant man, killed one or two with his own hand, and it is not certain whether he is killed or taken priſoner. Captain Vane, that gave the firſt charge, had his horſe hurt in the mouth and in the thigh, in the midſt of them; his horſe being weak of his hurts, Vane fell; but it pleaſed God he recovered his horſe, and came off with ſix or ſeven of his troop. The truth is, our horſe did not behave themſelves well, for many of them ran away, and did not ſecond thoſe that were firſt charged *. My Lord Conway, and the foot, with their two pieces of artillery, got into Newcaſtle; our horſe, routed and in diſorder, gained Durham; from whence they are commanded to retire twelve miles ſouthward, to a place called Darlington, where the Lord Lieutenant is gone to meet them. That evening, the Scots paſſed the river,

* The year before, the horſe were thought the beſt part of the King's army.

and at preſent are before Newcaſtle; by which means they have cut betwixt Newcaſtle, where his Majeſty's foot are, and his Majeſty; who is at preſent at Northallerton, fourteen miles ſouth of Darlington; and it is thought by Colonel Aſton, who is a gallant and experienced ſoldier, and but yeſterday come thence, that Newcaſtle cannot defend itſelf againſt the force of the enemy two days. His Majeſty purpoſes on Monday to retire to York, and to gather what force he can, having given order to join the horſe to him.

It will be now high time for the Lords and yourſelf to conſider what is fit to be adviſed his Majeſty; for the Scots have but too many friends in England I do much fear, and even in theſe northern parts. His Majeſty hath commanded me to tell you, that you ſhould haſten all the officers that are reformed, to follow him with all diligence; for there will be need of them amongſt the trained bands. I was yeſterday in the Biſhopric, ſo as I miſſed your packet, which I adviſed ſhould be delivered to my Lord Marquis in my abſence, whom I have not yet ſeen, nor your diſpatch. I hope my next will be of a more comfortable ſubject; for, believe me, though I conceive by report, that the loſs of men on both ſides may be equal; yet the diſadvantage and prejudice is very great to his Majeſty's ſervice, by this unhappy accident in beginning. God ſend us better ſucceſs; and ſo reſts,

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

Northallerton,
this 29th of Auguſt, 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

30th Auguſt. HAVING diſpatched an expreſs unto you the laſt night at twelve o'clock, I did little expect I ſhould have had occaſion to addreſs another ſo ſpeedily; the ſubject of which is both good and ill. For Newcaſtle is quitted by our army, as will appear by the letter I ſend you here encloſed; by which means Newcaſtle is loſt, and Leſley has poſſeſſed himſelf thereof. But his Majeſty's army thereupon took the opportunity to make their retreat towards Durham, where they lodged four miles on this ſide the laſt night, and have orders to uſe all poſſible diligence to join themſelves to the trained bands of this county at York, where his Majeſty intends to be this night; and there to gather together all the poſſible ſtrength he may, to face the enemy.

His Majeſty hath commanded me to tell you, that he expects the forty thouſand pound I ſent to you for, by his order, according to former directions; and what other counſels the Lords there will give him in this exigent, for the ſafety and ſecuring of this kingdom, and the beating back and repelling of the Rebels, who are already but too far advanced. And hereupon I muſt tell you, it is ſtrange to ſee how Leſley ſteals the hearts of the people in theſe northern parts. You ſhall do well to think of timely remedies to be applied, leſt the diſeaſe grow incurable; for I apprehend you are not much better in the South. Time you are not to loſe herein, leſt his Majeſty be neceſſitated to take other counſels; for without a vigorous ſupply both of men and money, theſe Rebels are come in with ſo ſtrong a force, and have the country where they march ſo much their friend, that it will be elſe hard to pick them out of the counties and towns

they are already poſſeſſed of, peradventure the endangering of the whole. CHARLES I. 1640.

Your Honour's, &c.

From Northallerton, this 30th of Auguſt, 1640. H. VANE.

The Lord Lieutenant this day joins with the army at Darlington. If you be not with her Majeſty when you receive this pacquet, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure you ſend it to the Queen with all poſſible diligence.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

THIS is only to acknowledge the receipt of three pacquets of your's this day; one of bills to ſign; another of proclamations; the third with an encloſed to the Lord Strafford, which upon the receipt I addreſſed unto him. To all the particulars of your diſpatch I ſhall make you anſwer, and return you your bills ſigned, by Mr. Walker, the paymaſter of Carliſle, who I ſhall diſpatch unto you to-morrow, or on Tueſday morning; myſelf having ſo much buſineſs to do at preſent here, to give out orders by his Majeſty's command, the Lord Lieutenant being with the army; which God bleſs, for I am now advertiſed, that Leſley hath quit Newcaſtle, and is marching after our army as faſt as he may. I hope we ſhall have time to join our forces together, and mend divers defects which hath happened ſince this army hath marched; but this to yourſelf, for I am none of thoſe that ſhall condemn any without firſt hearing. Had not this been a cover, by his Majeſty's command to two of his, the one for her Majeſty, the other for the Conſtable of the Tower, beſides your own, I had 30th Auguſt.

CHARLES I. 1640.

I had not given you this trouble at preſent. God bleſs his Majeſty and his affairs, ſo reſts,

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 30th of Auguſt, 1640.

H. VANE.

My Lord St. Albans ſhall have an anſwer of his letter from me within theſe few days; I dare not ſay to his contentment, but his Majeſty will not give yet an anſwer.

Extract of the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to his Majeſty.

Darlington, Auguſt 30, 1640.

THIS night all your army, horſe and foot, are come into this town. I took a view of them all as they marched along; the foot I take to be ten thouſand.

The horſe I judge to be fifteen hundred, and I may hope that they will ſtill increaſe, and the troopers every day return to their colours.

There are ſome of the troops in very good order.

The perſon of note killed by Wilmot, proves to be the Earl of Montroſe *. Wilmot is not killed, but taken; hurt, but without danger. Sir John Digby taken priſoner, but not hurt; in one word, I believe as many of them ſlain as of us. The Rebels lie yet about Newcaſtle.

* A miſtake.

CHARLES I. 1640.

From Mr. Treaſurer Vane, to Secretary Windebanke.

Sir,

BY what I ſend you here encloſed from the Earl of Strafforde to his Majeſty, you will underſtand the ſtate of his Majeſty's army, as it retreated from Newcaſtle; and ſuch it is at preſent, that nothing is to be adviſed, but to put our army upon the defenſive; by which you ſee, let man purpoſe what he will, it is God only that diſpoſes. I have not heard that Leſley hath marched ſince Saturday; that night he encamped five miles on this ſide Newcaſtle, if not this day; but you may be confident he will not lie long ſtill, knowing but too well the ſtate of his Majeſty's army. His Majeſty commands me to tell you, that my Lords ſhould take it into their wiſdom and conſideration, how to prepare a force to reſiſt the rebels, if they ſhould paſs by him, and march for the South; and that they take preſently order for the ſame, and what they will adviſe him; he having ſent you a true ſtate how things are here with him; of which he expects a reſolution, which you are to preſs, for it will admit no delay. 1ſt Sept.

His Majeſty approves well of the ſtaying of the officers belonging to my Lord Marquis's forces, with my Lord Marſhal, to whom by his Majeſty's command, I have ſignified as much.

I have written by his Majeſty's command for Ned Norgate to come and attend the journey, and if any clerk of the Signet come here when I am waiting, I will ſend him home. It is his Majeſty's pleaſure the maſter ſhould wait, and not the men, and that they ſhall find.

His Majeſty approves well of the orders you have given for the making of the Tower ſafe, and of the Lords care to ſupport and ſtrengthen my Lord Marſhal's commiſſion. For my Lord Admiral's

pacquets,

CHARLES I. 1640.

pacquets, he would have them ſtirred, for the time paſt eſpecially, ſince by the laſt you advertiſe it is conceived he is paſt all danger. For the other points in both your diſpatches, there needs no particular anſwers. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 1ſt of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

Memorial; Council and Committee.

London, September 2.

Two Propoſitions.

2d Sept.

THE one by reconciling the King and his people.

The other by raiſing monies, and ſo forces, which is feared too weak.

Lord Privy Seal *.

Whether the King will not be contented to have a general great council of the Peers?

Earl of Berkſhire.

The Peers will ſpeak of nothing but a Parliament.

The Lord Marſhal.

Spake to the city, and did let them know the great truſt his Majeſty had repoſed in them; and to that end, had left a commiſſion of lieutenancy for them; that he had given the Conſtable of the Tower order to hold a good intelligence with them, and to be ready for their defence: That they muſt be ready for the defence of the King and themſelves, with all their forces upon warning. The affection of London hath ever concurred with the ſtate.

My Lord Mayor.

Whether they ſhall increaſe the number of the trained bands?

* Lord Mancheſter.

The

The Lords anſwered.

To as great a number as he ſhould think fit; the more the better.

Sir Thomas Roe.

A grand council not called theſe three hundred years. No way but to indict a Parliament, and in the mean time the Peers be called. A preſent decrying of all grievances.

Secretary Windebanke *

For the calling of the Peers.

Mr. Comptroller.

The Lords to be called, who being perſuaded by the council that grievances ſhall be redreſſed, will, in probability, rather be contented with a remedy from the King, than from Leſley.

Lord Newburgh.

That both the calling of the Lords, and indicting of a Parliament be repreſented to the King.

Lord Cottington.

The King will think it more to his advantage, that it be done by the Lords in a general council, than by the council board.—Rather counſellable to adviſe his Majeſty to call the Lords as faſt as may be.

Earl Berks.

As the Lord Cottington.

Earl Saliſbury †.

To call the Lords.

Earl Dorſet.

To call the Lords, a way about: it will be as long to call the Lords, as to call the Parliament; and beſides, the glory of a Parliament will rather be given to them, than to the board; and therefore rather for a Parliament than calling the Lords.

Earl Marſhal.

To call the Peers: the only way, the beſt and the ſhorteſt way.

* The ſtanch courtiers ſeem to have been againſt a Parliament.

† Captain of the band of penſioners.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Lord Privy Seal *

Wholly averſe from adviſing a Parliament, and wholly for calling the Peers, the council of the kingdom, *conſiliarii nati*; Edward III. called his great council upon a like occaſion; they raiſed great ſums of money without a Parliament, and aſſiſted the King. The kingdom will follow the Peers.

Lord Treaſurer †

For calling the Lords.

Lord Keeper.

Not to repreſent to the King the calling of the Parliament, but all the Lords.

Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The great council of the Lords to be called; but to be put to the King, that we *are at the wall*, and that we are in the dark, and have no grounds for a council. We have no way but this, or the calling of the Parliament; and the Parliament *a conſequent.*

Committee.

Lord Treaſurer, Lord Marſhal, Earl Dorſet, Lord Cottington, Secretary Windebanke.

That his Majeſty will call away the Lieutenant ‡ of the Tower, and employ him there, if his Majeſty can handſomely remove him; as much for his ſervice; he being obſerved to be diſcontented, ſince the Lord Conſtable's || coming in.

The Lord Marſhal and Lord Cottington intend to go to-morrow to view a place on the other ſide of the river, for the powder; and that, in the mean time, a good proportion be ſent to Portſmouth.

* This noble Lord, when the Parliament met, gave no oppoſition to the popular party, in which his ſon was engaged. He died before the war broke out.

† Juxon, Biſhop of London; an honeſt man; let alone, becauſe inoffenſive and inactive.

‡ Sir William Balfour.

|| Lord Cottington.

The

The Lord Cottington hath bought a thouſand pair of ſhoes, and delivered them to the carriers of York; the other thouſand ſhall be immediately ſent. CHARLES I. 1640.

All that his Majeſty ordered concerning the fortifying of the Tower is in hand.

The money to be ſent away to-morrow.

Lord Conway to Secretary Windebanke.

Mr. Secretary,

IF you have not heard from me of late, it was not want of will, but want of time; for I do aſſure you that, from the time the Scots came into England, until that I came to York, I had not time to eat or ſleep. I would moſt gladly have written to you, becauſe that I would have told you the day before, what ſhould have happened the next; in hope that might have ſerved to juſtify me, if thoſe things did happen which were contrary to expectation. I hear that I have been blamed for my letters that I did write concerning what would happen, if the Scots did come in. Look upon my letters and ſee whether they were ſtories or no. Look upon the advice I did give; ſee what we do. For what I have done from the time that the Scotch army did come in, until the troops did quit Newcaſtle, I dare ſtand to the trial of ſoldiers; I do aſſure myſelf that I have not made any fault. Now, that the affairs are governed by * another, I am not able to make a judgment; but the bare relation is, that the army here ſhall be entrenched cloſe under the walls of this town; the horſe muſt be ſent into Richmond or Cleveland, to be near the river of Tees, to keep the Scots from making incurſions into York- 9th Sept.

* Lord Strafforde.

CHARLES I. 1640.

ſhire. The Scots do order things in ſuch a manner, that it appears as if they would not advance farther. We were in doubt that they might have ſurpriſed Hull, and therefore did ſend Sir Thomas Glenham with his regiment of twelve hundred men thither. I pray believe this much, that I ſhall ever be,

Your humble Servant,

York, this 9th of September, 1640. CONWAY and KILULTA *.

Sir H. Vane to Secretary Windebanke.

Right Honourable,

11th Sept. UPON Friday, at twelve at noon, were brought unto me, your two pacquets of the 9th preſent. The Lords, nor yourſelf, will not wonder, that the copy of the Scotch petition arrived ſo ſpeedily at the Queen's Court, ſince it was by his Majeſty's eſpecial order ſent thither, by William Murray, of which I had no knowledge, but order to ſend it to you by Mr. Nicholas, the which I aſſure myſelf you have received from him, with a copy alſo of the petition of the Lords of England.

By what you have repreſented to his Majeſty, I find, you have no apprehenſion, but that the Lords will be here at the day appointed, though you intimate ſome doubt thereof, in your diſpatch to myſelf; we ſhall therefore prepare for them accordingly.

* This noble Lord and Lord Strafforde, who had been great friends, were diſſatisfied with each other, after the affair of Newburn; and Lord Conway has written an apology for his conduct, which is printed. He never ſerved in the civil wars, when good officers were formed on both ſides; but much the beſt on that of the Parliament.

Sir

Sir Kenelm Digby hath made his propoſition here to his Majeſty; and whatſoever your Honour's opinion may be thereof, and his, his Majeſty, in his wiſdom and judgment, bids me tell you, he holds it no ways ſeaſonable, or practicable, at preſent. CHARLES I. 1630.

I am ſorry to underſtand, that the Earl Marſhal ſhould grow every day more and more infirm. I could wiſh, as well in regard of his Majeſty's affairs, as of himſelf, that he had more perfect health in this time of action. I never doubted of the Lord Cottington's, and your own induſtry and diligence; yet I am of the ſame opinion with you, that an army without money will riſe ſlowly in this diſtempered time; though the law obliges all ſubjects, in caſe of invaſion, to ſerve at their own charges.

You tell me, that you ſhall adviſe with the Lords concerning the buſineſs of Newcaſtle, and the coals, of which they have already great apprehenſions; yet in your diſpatch to his Majeſty, you adviſe, that ſmall veſſels, ſuch as ordnance may not be put into to be made ſhips of war, may continue the trade. But here his Majeſty commands me to tell you, that you and my Lords ſhould do well to adviſe with the Trinity Houſe, and be well informed whether that will be means ſufficient to ſupply the city with fuel or not, or whether any of the coaſters ſhips be not ſuch, as, ſhould they be ſeized by the Scots at Newcaſtle, they might not be made frigates to put ſmall pieces in, and ſo infeſt and trouble our coaſts. This being ſecured, his Majeſty approves of your advice, or any other way or means (that brings not a worſe inconvenience along with it) to ſupply the city with fuel.

Yeſterday in the afternoon, his Majeſty took a view of his army, as well horſe as foot, conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, beſides the trained bands of Yorkſhire. Braver bodies of men and better clad, have I not ſeen any where, for the foot. For the horſe, they are ſuch, as no man that ſees them, by their outward appearance, but will judge them able to ſtand, and encounter

CHARLES I. 1640.

ter with any whatſoever. Sure I am, that I have ſeen far meaner, in the King of Sweden's army, do ſtrange and great execution; and by the report of all, they are far better than thoſe they are to encounter, being but little nags moſt of them, and few or none at all armed but with lances and Scots piſtols, of which I cannot learn they are above ſixteen hundred. So, if God ſends us hearts and hands, I cannot apprehend (have we conduct) how they ſhould be able to reſiſt the ſhock of ours, whenſoever they ſhall meet. His Majeſty hath alſo, of all ſorts, forty-four good pieces of artillery, with their equipage; ſo as you do provide us monies in time, I do not ſee (though it muſt be confeſt they have made but too far and proſperous advance already into this kingdom) but that, God being with his Majeſty's army, ſucceſs will follow. But ſhould there be a failing of monies for theſe three months, no man can foreſee the calamities and miſeries both to King and ſtate, that may thereupon enſue; and therefore, by his Majeſty's command, you are to preſs the ſame to the Lords of the Committee effectually. His Majeſty hath now, and ſo often, recommended the ſame to you by his royal pen, that I ſhould not have ſpoken a word to you upon the ſubject, had it not been by his Majeſty's expreſs command.

His Majeſty this day returns Mr. Flemming (whom I mentioned to you in my laſt) with anſwer to the letter he brought from the Scotch Rebels; the copies of both which you ſhall receive here encloſed, as alſo the demands of theirs to the town of Newcaſtle, and the Biſhoprick; the like they have done alſo to Northumberland; by which it will be ſeen how they are like to ſuffer (be their pretences what they will) that fall under the power of the ſword. And therefore his Majeſty and my Lords here hold it fit, that their proceedings ſhould be printed and publiſhed amongſt you in the South, to move and ſtir you up to have a perfect ſenſe of their ſufferings, the better to induce them to a vigorous and timely ſupply; to prevent thoſe calamities from ſpreading farther, which we now endure.

The

The counties of Nottingham and Derby, have drawn their trained bands to the confines of their ſeveral counties, there attending and exerciſing their foot, until his Majeſty ſend his farther orders. The horſe, which are two troops, are this day joined to his Majeſty's army; ſo as now, with the horſe of Yorkſhire, his Majeſty hath two thouſand five hundred horſe. Leiceſterſhire is in the ſame forwardneſs; but Stafford and Lincolnſhire are not ſo ready; but 'tis hoped we ſhall hear of them ſhortly. His Majeſty and my Lords are of opinion, that it were neceſſary that all the reſt of the counties of England ſhould be put into the ſame readineſs, and, now their harveſt is done, be drawn into ſome place to the confines of their ſeveral counties, there to exerciſe both horſe and foot; that they may be ready on all occaſions, upon a ſhort ſummons, to march to the defence of the kingdom. And if my Lord Marſhal, and the reſt of the Lords, have not given order for the ſame, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure that you propoſe the ſame to their Lordſhips, that accordingly it may be put in execution, if their Lordſhips ſhall not find cauſe to the contrary. The preſident of Wales * hath had his ſummons from his Majeſty, to be in a readineſs with all the trained bands and power he can make in that preſidency, and the ſaid forces to remain in their ſeveral counties until his Majeſty's farther order; ſo as I conceive they will be in a readineſs, whenſoever they ſhall be commanded by his Majeſty, or the Lord General of the South, as there ſhall be occaſion.

I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that it is his Majeſty pleaſure, that the Lord Dorſet ſhould attend her Majeſty and the council in the South; ſo as he is graciouſly pleaſed to diſpenſe with his preſence at the meeting here of the Peers 24th preſent.

You will be pleaſed to excuſe me for ſending you this diſpatch in my Secretary's hand, for it hath been a buſy day with me. Tomorrow his Majeſty hath appointed a chapter to be called here of the

* Earl of Bridgewater.

Knights

CHARLES I. 1640.

Knights of the Garter, when his Majeſty intends to beſtow the *cordon bleu* upon the Lieutenant * General. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

York, this 11th of Sept. 1640. H. VANE.

The Lieutenant is much mended in his health, upon the avoiding of two ſtones this laſt night. You will give her Majeſty communication of this diſpatch, for I have not written to her.

There is come to Newcaſtle fifty wives of the better ſort of the Lords and commanders; by this it is conjectured, they will not leave the place ſuddenly. You ſhall receive here incloſed a letter of Sir John Fenwicke, brought me this night.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

13th Sept. THIS is to tell you that this day the Lieutenant had the Blue Ribbon given him, being brought to his Majeſty by the Marquis †, and the *Condé* ‡. Here hath been much buſineſs with the gentlemen of Yorkſhire, to diſpoſe them to levy two months pay for the payment of the trained bands of Yorkſhire; and the laſt night a petition was agreed upon by the gentlemen in a high ſtrain; concluding as the twelve Peers did for a Parliament; but this afternoon, the Lieutenant appointing to meet with all the Lords and gentlemen of the country in their great hall, after much debate, it was overuled by the major part of voices, to reject the petition; and

* Lord Strafforde was Lieutenant General to the Earl of Northumberland.

† Of Hamilton.

‡ Earl of Holland, a nick-name.

it was reſolved to make a levy * in the county, to pay the trained bands until the 24th current; after which the Lieutenant brought them to the king, and declared ſo much to his Majeſty in the preſence of the gentlemen, and with a farther declaration, that after the 24th, they hoped with the Peers to give his Majeſty farther ſatisfaction. It was done with much alacrity and chearfulneſs; whereupon his Majeſty ſpake to the gentlemen himſelf, and declared unto them, that after this preſent occaſion he would eaſe them, and take off from them ſix thouſand foot; free them at preſent from their *eſcuage*; and that if any of their colonels or prime officers ſhould be killed in this preſent ſervice, he would give them their wardſhips, if their heir ſhould be under age. This gave them great contentment, and his majeſty was therewith ſo well pleaſed, that he commanded me to make a diſpatch unto you thereupon. This good example in Yorkſhire, I hope will induce the counties in the South to do the like. And ſo I reſt CHARLES I. 1640.

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

York, this 13th of September. H. VANE.

Sir H. Vane to Secretary Windebanke.

Sir,

I GAVE you yeſterday an account of what paſſed betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and the Yorkſhire gentlemen. This day I received your's of the 11th preſent, with an incloſed to his Majeſty, the which I preſented unto him. I perceive, by the Lord Cottington's letter, as well as your own, forty-two thouſand is all is 14th Sept.

* One of the articles of impeachment againſt him, was the making this levy.

CHARLES I. 1640.

to be expected. He ſays, it ſhall come away with all diligence, but aſcertains not the time; but it is not this will do the buſineſs; and I do much apprehend my Lord Marſhal will not be able to divert the city's petitioning his Majeſty for a Parliament, the diſtemper grows ſo univerſal.

It is advertiſed to this court, as well as by your's to his Majeſty, that Hertford and Eſſex ſet out from London, towards this place, to-morrow, and that few of the other nobility will be here at the day appointed for meeting; which, ſhould it fall out ſo, it were not well; but in ſuch caſe, it is conſiderable whether it ſhould be held or not; and that, I conceive, is worthy of the Lords advice above, who are upon the place, and may firſt and beſt diſcover the ſame. For the Turkiſh ambaſſador, his Majeſty's anſwer is, he may yet ſtay where he is; for the Daniſh, he hears nothing yet of his errand, no more do I. When he doth, his Majeſty bids me tell you, that both my Lords and yourſelf ſhall have knowledge thereof.

I had almoſt forgot to tell you, what I ſhould have repreſented unto you in my laſt, which is, that, at my Lord Lieutenant's inſtance, the better to induce the Yorkſhire gentlemen to grant a month's pay for their trained bands, his Majeſty hath promiſed them not only to take off ſix thouſand of their twelve thouſand ſoldiers for the future, but to remit their eſcuage, and to give the wardſhip to all thoſe that ſhall die on this ſervice. I knew not of it, until his Majeſty had declared to it the gentlemen. The other counties that he hath ſent to riſe with their forces, will no queſtion expect the like; and ſo will alſo all the reſt of the counties in the South, if they ſhall have occaſion to riſe; and therefore you ſhall do well to communicate this buſineſs to the Earl Marſhal and the Lord Cottington; for this of the wardſhips may be of conſequence, and ſo I have told his Majeſty. My Lords and yourſelf may do well to adviſe hereupon, and then to let me know your opinions; for in the other counties here adjacent, I have adviſed his Majeſty upon this occaſion only to remit

remit the eſcuage, and that concurs with my Lords opinions for the ſuſpenſion of the proclamations.

The Scots are now buſy fortifying Newcaſtle, where, have four ſhips lately come, out of the Eaſt country with corn, ſo as for ſix months they are provided to furniſh their army; beſides Northumberland and the Biſhopric at their devotion; out of which they will draw great advantages, both of profit and conveniency. I doubt you in the South do not yet apprehend the conſequences of the loſs of Newcaſtle; but a little time will make it appear; and in my judgment, I cannot find how it is poſſible, let his Majeſty draw together what force he can, to get them out of that place this winter; ſo that by this you may ſee clearly what condition his Majeſty's affairs are in.

They plant garriſons, and take up their winter-quarters, throughout Northumberland and the Biſhopric; and ſo they may, for his Majeſty's army cannot be in a poſture fit to fight theſe ſix weeks. In what ſtate we ſhall be by that time for money, you above know better than myſelf, and may better foreſee the events, if God Almighty ſend not more unity among us, which of his great mercy grant us. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

York, this 14th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

16th Sept. I KNOW nothing in yours of the 13th, that requires anſwer from me. Two of the King's ſhips are come, and lie before the Tyne mouth, and have order to hinder all trade, during the time the rebels ſhall hold Newcaſtle; ſo as I do not ſee how London can be ſupplied from thence with coals; for, as concerning the propoſition, that veſſels of ſmall burthen ſhould only trade, it is conceived, both by his Majeſty, and my Lords here, that no veſſels ſhould be permitted to trade thither whatſoever; and that great and ſmall veſſels will be equally inconvenient.

Sir Peter Killegrew is returned this day from the priſoners *, but cannot procure their liberty from the rebels, but upon ſuch conditions as you ſhall ſee here incloſed.

The Scots do not yet advance farther than Durham, having brought that county into contribution, for which they pay 350 l. the day, Northumberland 300 l. in which are compriſed the church and Roman Catholics at equal rates; yet the horſe take hay and oats for nothing; all that keep their houſes, nothing more is taken from them; if they find no dwellers in Newcaſtle, or the counties, thoſe they plunder; but if an egg or chicken bring from thoſe that pay contribution, they are certainly hanged for it. They keep a very ſevere diſcipline; I wiſh it were more practiſed on our ſide; for our horſe and foot commit great inſolencies, for which two were hanged yeſterday.

His Majeſty tells me, he ſent you a command for the fortifying and making uſe of Portſmouth; he hath commanded me to ſecond the ſame unto you, that it accordingly may be complied withal.

* Thoſe taken at Newburn; Wilmot, Digby, &c. afterwards officers in the civil wars.

His

His Majeſty read your poſtſcript, and ſmiled when he met with Monſigot's putting you in mind of your mortality; and I doubt not, though money goes out faſt at preſent, but that his Majeſty will, if he were once at the end of theſe troubles, deal graciouſly with us, touching that office; and it is but reaſon, for we have done him ſervice in it. CHARLES I. 1640.

We are in great expectancy of the 24th preſent; and of the Lords and Sir Francis Seymour coming down; though it is not expected by us here, that the meeting of the Peers will produce any thing more than a reſolution for a Parliament; which word is thought ſufficient, not only to put the Scots out of the kingdom, but a balm to cure all our ſores.

If you aſk this bearer, he will tell you how thoſe of Newcaſtle ſuffer. God ſend a good concluſion to all our troubles; and ſend us unity amongſt ourſelves, and I ſhall not much apprehend yet the Scots, though they are upon the advantage ground. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's moſt humble ſervant,

H. VANE.

York, this 16th of Sept. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

THIS day, at nine in the morning, I received your's of the 16th, and in it a packet to his Majeſty, which inſtantly I carried unto him. To divers of the particulars therein contained, you will receive anſwers from his royal pen; ſo as I have little at preſent to trouble you withal, more than to tell you, notwithſtanding the Lords of the Council's advice for a Parliament, I do not find in his Majeſty yet, any certain reſolution for the ſame. 18th Sept.

The

CHARLES I. 1640.

The papers you ſent incloſed to his Majeſty, he hath put into my hands, the which require no reply; and for the printing of the papers, his Majeſty commands me to tell you, that he holds it moſt fit that you ſhould print them in the ſouth, as we do alſo here upon the like occaſions.

We are here in expectation of the meeting of the Peers, ſo as, until then, you are not like to hear much from me; beſides, we have had ſo great rains theſe two days, that the waters are ſo out, that there is ſcarce means to paſs any where upon the roads, and no intercourſe is like to be further betwixt this camp and the rebels, until the Peers are aſſembled. You may reſt confident of his Majeſty's care to regain what the Scots have got upon this kingdom, ſo you furniſh him with money timely, and according to the hopes have been given to his Majeſty, ſince his coming to this place. In a word, if 42,000 l. come not, and that ſpeedily, the army being now out of pay, what inconveniences may thereupon follow, the Lords and yourſelf may apprehend, conſidering but how the times are at preſent conditioned; and the rebels within five or ſix days march at the fartheſt.

I ſend you here incloſed the Captain of the Holy Iſland's letter unto me, by his Majeſty's command; you are to ſhew it to the Lord Treaſurer and Cottington, and to move them for to give order for his preſent relief. I have ſpoken often to my Lord Treaſurer concerning the ſame before my coming out of the ſouth. The beſt way to ſupply him now, will be by the paymaſter of Berwick; for which, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, preſent order ſhould be given, leſt elſe it might fall into the enemy's hands, which would be prevented; it being a place of too great importance to let fall into their hands through neglect. And ſo I kiſs your Honour's hands, and reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

York,
this 18th of Sept. 1640.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

THIS day, about eleven o'clock, arrived your letters of the 18th; in the afternoon, the Denmark Ambaſſadors, who, to-morrow at one of the clock, are to have audience of his Majeſty. When your covenanting Miniſter and the Londoners arrive here, his Majeſty will reſolve what to do with them; and I did never doubt, ſince the twelve Lords had preſented their petition to his Majeſty, but that many more of the nobility would ſign with them. 20th Sept.

Since my laſt, Lieutenant Smith, that commanded Sir John Digby's troop, with ſixty horſe, ſurpriſed Sir Alexander Douglas, Major to Colonel Ramſay, that took Sir John Digby priſoner, who came into Yorkſhire with a party of horſe over the Tees, and were plundering a houſe of one Mr. Pudſey's, who gave notice to our troops of their being there. Captain John Digby, ſon of the Earl of Briſtol, with three or four troops cut off their paſs at Croft-brigg. The great rains that fell made the river not fordable; ſo as two of them offering to ſwim the river, were drowned; twenty-one that reſiſted were killed on the place; thirty-ſeven taken priſoners; and all the officers and the horſes of the whole troop, with ſuch arms as they had, which are but mean; and ſo are all their horſe. By this you ſee we begin to recover our hearts and courage *. You are not to expect voluminous diſpatches before the meeting of the Peers. Nine of them came to Doncaſter on Saturday laſt, and will be here

* This ſkirmiſh has been ſo improved by ſome frivolous hiſtorians, that they have built upon it the ſtory of Lord Strafforde's having offered at this juncture, if the army was put in motion, to drive the Scots out of England; but the circumſtances of the time, and his own opinion, as ſtated in theſe letters, make it impoſſible to be true.

CHARLES I. 1640.

to-morrow. We expect a full aſſembly, from the aſſurance you give us here. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 20th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

22d Sept.

HERE are this day arrived many of the Peers, ſo as I conceive it will be a full aſſembly. I do not think it can hold many days, it being but preparatory to Parliament; without which, it is believed impoſſible to ſettle and quiet the hearts and minds of men.

This day was preſented unto his Majeſty, the petition from London. You were not well informed thereof, for there are to it four Aldermen's hands, and not ſo few, I think, as ten thouſand others. It is not his Majeſty's opinion, nor any of the Lords of the Council (as this time is conditioned) that either they, Burgeſs the Miniſter, or any other, that hath, or ſhould deliver petitions of this kind to his Majeſty, ſhould be committed.

His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſignify his pleaſure unto you, that you let the Lord Treaſurer and Cottington know, that upon a letter lately ſent hither from the Lord Admiral, repreſenting the neceſſity of maintaining a Winter guard at ſea; the diſhonour of letting it fall, until he ſee more clearly through the difficulties of his affairs; as alſo the ill conſequences unto his Majeſty's forces here, together with the great prejudices the rebels ſuffer by his Majeſty's ſhips lying

ing at Tynmouth, as hath been made known alſo to his Majeſty by the Lord Lieutenant. Upon theſe conſiderations, you are to let theſe two Lords know, that they are preſently to take order for the diſpatch of theſe ſervices, importing much both the honour and ſafety of the State; but the monies deſigned for the army are not to be made uſe of; for even that which was promiſed, falls ſhort; yet ſome means muſt be found for the other, as you will underſtand from his Majeſty's ſacred pen by this diſpatch; though in his laſt to you, he did command the contrary. I have written to the ſame effect concerning his Majeſty's pleaſure, touching this ſea-ſervice, both to the Lords Treaſurer and Admiral, by his Majeſty's expreſs order.

It is his Majeſty's farther pleaſure, that, with what diligence you conveniently may, you ſend me hither *in forma*, all the proceedings and acts that paſſed the laſt Winter at the Council-table, concerning the Scottiſh buſineſs.

The caſtle of Edinburgh is delivered up by General Ruthven; he and his men are to come to Berwick, and with him two pieces of cannon. The rebels have taken Caliverocke, and have put all to the ſword, but the Earl of Niddiſdale, his lady and his page; they killed forty of the name of Maxwell; and many were alſo killed of the beſiegers, before it was delivered up. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York,
this 22d of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

24th Sept. THIS day I ſent you word, that his Majeſty had declared his reſolution for the ſummoning of a Parliament to be held the 3d of December next. You ſhall receive here incloſed, the copy of his Majeſty's ſpeech to the Peers, at the opening of the aſſembly. I have not known his Majeſty expreſs himſelf better, ſince I have had the honour to ſerve him; and it was to the great ſatisfaction and contentment of all that heard him.

This, with the forms ſpent the morning; at two after dinner, the King and Peers met again, when at firſt it was propoſed by the Earl of Briſtol, to enter into a treaty with the rebels; moſt of the Lords being confident they have it in their power to make peace; but my opinion is, it will not be an eaſy work. Hereupon, after ſome debate, they reſolved to name Commiſſioners, to meet and treat with the rebels upon an accommodation; they named ſixteen of the Peers, and appointed the place of meeting to be at Northallerton; the names of which you ſhall receive here encloſed. I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that his Majeſty and the great Council were not ſat an hour, but a pacquet was brought to the Lord Lanerick, from the rebels, with a new petition from them to his Majeſty, ſupplicating in a more mannerly ſtile than formerly; the copy of which, that you may the better judge of their proceeding, I ſend you herewith. The Earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerick, were by his Majeſty commanded to aſſiſt in this aſſembly, and ſat behind the King's chair. The reaſon was, that Traquair was commanded to make the ſame relation * to the Peers, which he formerly did at the

* Lord Clarendon appears to have been quite miſtaken in ſaying, that no-body was appointed to explain the King's proceedings in Scotland to this meeting.

Council-

Council-table, which was the ground upon which the Lords adviſed his Majeſty, rather than to yield unto ſuch demands, to reduce the rebels by force.

Mr. Bellaſſis, the Lord Falconbridge's youngeſt ſon, was diſpatched this night to the Scottiſh camp, to give them knowledge of the reſolution of this day; that on Wedneſday or Thurſday next, they may meet at the place appointed, that they may ſpeedily put an end to this unhappy buſineſs; for that as the ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs is at preſent, they will not admit of delay without danger. God of his mercy ſend us a happy concluſion at laſt, and direct theſe Lords right in this difficult buſineſs, which I cannot yet underſtand to be other.

To-morrow the aſſembly meets again at nine of the clock, when is to be debated how his Majeſty's army is to be kept on foot and maintained, until the ſupplies of a Parliament may be had. If a good expedient may be found for this, I conceive it will much facilitate the treaty. The Lords ſeem all to be very ſenſible of the conſequences that may follow, both to King and kingdom, ſhould his Majeſty's army diſband before the Scots be put out of the kingdom; and therefore I hope my next will give you a good account hereof.

His Majeſty was no ſooner ſat in his chair this morning, but the Lords, by the mouth of the Earl of Briſtol, deſired juſtice upon Sir William Bartley, for having ſaid, that the rebels had thirty-ſeven of the heads of the nobility, that invited them to come into England; if he be not able to make it good, they are ſharp upon him, but I hope he will be able to clear himſelf *. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York,
this 24th of Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

* This was the firſt getting out of the ſtory of the letter and ſubſcription forged by the Lord Saville. The King's favour ſhewn ſo ſoon after to this Lord, proves that he had betrayed ſome ſecrets, to ingratiate himſelf with the Court.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

25th Sept. HIS Majeſty did yeſterday ſo ſeaſonably declare himſelf for a Parliament, that this day, when the queſtion was propoſed how to maintain his Majeſty's army until the Parliament, it having been adviſed unanimouſly by all the Lords, that it was not ſafe, during the Scots being in the kingdom, nor counſelable, for his Majeſty to diſband his army; it is not to be expreſſed by me, with what chearfulneſs and alacrity the Lords, all of them, entered into debate how to find the means to do it, his Majeſty's treaſure being exhauſted; and after a little time ſpent, unanimouſly reſolved, that the ſum that was to be provided was 200,000l. and that to be borrowed from the city; for the better effecting whereof, a letter is conceived, and is to be ſigned by all the Lords to the city, for the ſame. The Lords Treaſurer and Cottington are to offer them ſecurity from his Majeſty, which if the city ſhall not accept, they have reſolved, and inſtructions are given from the aſſembly to ſix of the Lords, deputed to treat with the city, and are intruſted from the reſt to carry this letter; which are Privy Seal, Chamberlain, Clare, Cambden, Coventry, and Goring; and theſe are to go Southward to-morrow, and purpoſe to be at London on Tueſday next.

To-morrow, at eight in the morning, the aſſembly meets, to prepare for the meeting with the Scots; which is now changed from Northallerton, to be at Rippon, as the moſt lodgeable and convenient place, and to digeſt upon what grounds the Engliſh commiſſioners ſhall proceed. I am commanded by his Majeſty, and deſired by the Lords, to attend this ſervice; which I conceive it will be difficult to bring to a good concluſion. You have long known my opinion of theſe, and you will witneſs with me, that I have not been deceived

in

in my judgment of them; but *ſalus populi eſt ſuprema lex*, which I do foreſee is like to be the compaſs which we ſhall ſail by. If the pacification could be the medium, I conceive it were to be endeavoured by us; but I do apprehend ruder conditions; and that we ſhew ſo much our deſires to peace, that they will grow the more inſolent upon us *. I ſhall ſend your bills and letters ſigned by the next. And ſo I kiſs your hands, and reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 25th of Sept. 1640. H. VANE.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

HIS Majeſty having, as you know, given order for the ſummoning of a Parliament, hath received divers petitions from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, repreſenting their many grievances; and to the end he may the better facilitate the work he hath in hand, and ſweeten his proceedings therein, he hath commanded me to let you know, that he is pleaſed to releaſe all thoſe, who have been formerly committed to the fleet, or other priſons, for refuſing to pay coat and conduct money; and that your Lordſhips, at the board, conſider what other priſoners are committed from thence, for ſuch matters as may raiſe diſputes in the enſuing Parliament (thereby to give impediment to his affairs) that thereupon you may give ſuch order for their diſcharge, or otherwiſe, as their Lorſhips ſhall conceive to be beſt for his Majeſty's ſervice. Whereunto his Majeſty (of his 27th Sept.

* The pacification was ſo looſe and indigeſted an agreement, that each party put their own meaning upon it, and conſequently it determined nothing.

own

CHARLES I. 1640.

own gracious accord, to teſtify his royal intentions to proceed clearly) is the rather induced, that he may (if it be poſſible) make this a happy meeting, and, by his goodneſs, prevent this preſent aſſembly here, who may peradventure in the concluſion move him thereunto. So recommending to your eſpecial care, theſe his Majeſty's commands, I remain

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

I ſend you here incloſed, by his Majeſty's command, a note of ſuch names of his Majeſty's ſervants as he thinks fit ſhould be provided as burgeſſes to attend this preſent Parliament; and it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you ſpeak with the Lord Chamberlain * concerning the ſame, his Majeſty expecting ſome help from his Lordſhip. For the others, you are to ſee them provided out of ſuch places, as are in her Majeſty's, and in his Highneſs's the Prince's gift. You will cauſe letters therefore to be written accordingly.

This day at twelve of the clock, I received your's of the 25th of September, 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

THE Scots commiſſioners appointed to meet with our eight Earls, and as many Barons, are, the Earl of Dumfermlin, Lord Loudon, Sheriff of Tiviotdale, Lord of Wigton, Maſter Alexander Henderſon, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Archibald Johnſton. Number and quality we have, and a good cauſe; God grant we manage it. Beſides, there are aſſiſtants, the Earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerick, and myſelf; on Thurſday we meet at Rippon, and if we be overreached in treaty, we have precedent for it, our predeceſſors have done ſo before us. I gave you order from his Majeſty in my

* Earl of Pembroke.

laſt,

laſt, that you ſhould releaſe all the Buckinghamſhire men and others, that were impriſoned from the council table, for coat and conduct money; as alſo, that their Lordſhips ſhould take into conſideration the releaſing and ſetting free all other priſoners that were committed from the council, and now in priſon; it being his Majeſty's expreſs pleaſure, that thereby the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects may be the better prepared and ſweetened for a Parliament. This I ſhall deſire you to take care of, if it be not already done; for that I conceive it will be moſt neceſſary to be done for his Majeſty's ſervice. I hope your Londoners will lend the 200,000l. If that be, I doubt not but we ſhall do well, and bring the Scots to reaſon; if otherwiſe, I will ſay to you, his Majeſty is in a moſt unhappy condition and dangerous; but I ſhall hope the beſt. His Majeſty goes to-morrow to Hull, but returns hither on Thurſday; that morning the Engliſh commiſſioners go to Rippon, with the aſſiſtants from this town. Here incloſed you ſhall receive your three letters you ſent me, with the bills ſigned. My Lord Ethericke, with the governor of Dunbarton, arrived at court, this evening, both full of the ſcurvy.

To-morrow, my Lord Littleton † and Mr. Attorney ‡, take their journey from this place towards the South, who, if you handle them right, will tell you of many good paſſages that hath been amongſt the Peers this aſſembly; wherein the Lord Strafforde hath had his part; the Earl of Briſtol hath ſpoken much, and freely; Berkſhire is not ſilent; but I hope all will end well. The pacification is made the ground of the treaty, and now cried up and juſtified by all *nemine contradicente*; the truth is, if a good peace can be had, it will not be refuſed. And ſo I reſt

Your moſt humble, &c.

York,
this 29th Sept. 1640.

H. VANE.

† Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas. ‡ Herbert.

Mr.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Mr. Sydenham hath ſpoken to his Majeſty for his favour, concerning that allowance Witherings gave him out of the Poſt-office; he hath alſo ſpoken with me. I have made him anſwer, I can ſay nothing to it, for that the office is but ſequeſtered; neither can I make any anſwer to it at all, without communicating with you; that it will be time for him to ſpeak to the king of this buſineſs, when the office is ſettled, it being now in ſequeſtration. I pray tell me by your next, how you like this anſwer.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners would not come upon his Majeſty's ſafe-conduct, but demanded the Peers ſubſcription to it. That was not thought fit; but the Peers all writ a letter to them, teſtifying that his Majeſty ſigned and ſealed it in the preſence of them.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

21ſt October. UPON Wedneſday morning, I received your's of the 28th of the laſt. I am heartily ſorry to hear that the Admiral * mends ſo ſlowly, and that his weakneſs continues ſtill upon him. The Lord Lieutenant here grows ſtrong; which is well, for his Majeſty's affairs require whole and ſound men. I have forgotten in my two laſt, to tell you, that the Denmark ambaſſadors, on Sunday laſt, took leave of his Majeſty. Their errand was, to interpoſe betwixt his Majeſty and his ſubjects; which he excuſed. Of Sir Thomas Rowe's treaty, *point des nouvelles*. His Majeſty ſpoke to them of it himſelf; and by his order, ſo did I; whereupon they told me plainly, they had no orders ſo much as to ſpeak of it. I am this day going with the Lords to Rippon. I aſſure myſelf, you and my Lords have diſcharged the Buckinghamſhire men, and the reſt that

* Earl of Northumberland.

were committed for coat and conduct money; and such others, according to his Majesty's order which I signified unto you, that stood committed by my Lords; that his Majesty may come to the Parliament, so as all unnecessary disputes may be avoided, and time husbanded. And so I rest

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 1st of October, 1640. H. VANE.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

YOUR letter of the 3d present, came to me yesterday at Rippon, whence I presently sent the dispatch unto his Majesty; and this day, coming myself hither, I received your other dispatch of the 4th by Mr. Progers, who brought likewise the letters from the Lords Committees, whereat both his Majesty and the whole assembly remained very much satisfied. Their letter speaks very positively of the readiness of the city to furnish the whole sum; whereas your's implies only a hope; but I will believe rather, that they will make good what the Lords Committees have expressed in their behalf; and then no doubt but the Scotch will let much fall of their demands; which are as yet very high and vast. 6th October.

This day arrived here from Rippon, the Lords Hertford, Bristol, Holland, Wharton, and Saville, for to give account to his Majesty and the Peers, of their proceedings; and appear to be sensible of the exorbitancy of their demands; which are no less than the maintenance of their army; for which they ask forty thousand

CHARLES I. 1640.

pounds a month; and leave to the Lords how and where to raiſe it. This afternoon they begun to treat thereof in the aſſembly; to-morrow ſome reſolution will be taken, with which the Lords may return, and whereof I ſhall advertiſe you accordingly.

The Letter for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of London, his Majeſty will ſend with the firſt; but being full of buſineſs this evening, it cannot go herewith. You will be pleaſed to excuſe my not writing with my own hand. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 6th of October, 1640. H. VANE.

The Scottiſh Lords will not admit neither the Lord of Traquair, nor any of the aſſiſtants, to be preſent at the treaty. The Engliſh commiſſioners, by reaſon of the ſmall-pox being at Rippon, are ſuitors to his Majeſty, to recal the treaty to York from Rippon, which will be reſolved to-morrow.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

THIS is to acknowledge the receipt of your 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th of this preſent, and to tell you, that our treaty with the Scots advances not, they perſiſting in their firſt propoſition; that until they know how their army ſhould ſubſiſt at Newcaſtle, their powers did not warrant them to treat of any other particular. So as you ſee where they intend to lodge their army this winter; and peace certainly there will be none, unleſs ratified by the Parliament of England, as well as that of Scotland: a ceſſation of arms may be

peradventure obtained, ſo England maintain their army, until the peace be confirmed in Parliament. The difficulties that we are like to meet with in maintaining a war, your laſt hath given me full and entire ſatisfaction. This day the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Mandeville, deputed from the reſt of the Engliſh Lords commiſſioners at Rippon, brought his Majeſty a paper preſented from the Scottiſh commiſſioners unto them; they delivered it unto his Majeſty, there being preſent only Hertford and Briſtol. I ſhall ſay nothing more of the paper, becauſe you ſhall receive it here incloſed. After his Majeſty had ſpoken with theſe Lords, he aſſembled the Peers, where the paper was read, the Lieutenant preſent. The Scots now make difficulty of coming to York, for the cauſes alledged in the paper; but the two Lords have order to return to Rippon, not doubting but they will ſo diſpoſe of the buſineſs, that they may peradventure induce the Scots commiſſioners to come to York. However, all but four commiſſioners of the Engliſh (who, in caſe the Scots ſhould formalize thereupon, are to ſtay there with them) are commanded by his Majeſty to repair hither. I ſend you here incloſed, a bill ſigned by his Majeſty, which the Lords Grace of Canterbury ſent to his Majeſty. I pray deliver it unto him, and with it, my humble ſervice. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York,
this 9th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

His Majeſty formerly commanded me to write to the Lord Treaſurer and Cottington, that they ſhould take care, that, above all things, there ſhould be provided money to pay off the mariners, as the ſhips come in. He commanded me to ſignify his pleaſure unto you, to call upon their Lordſhips for the ſame; that when he returns, he may not receive an affront, if the mariners be not paid.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde, to the Same.

Sir,

9th October. YOUR favours and reſpects to me do but give me encouragement to increaſe your trouble. You may do well to forbear any more returns to me, ſince they are likely to draw theſe prejudices upon you; finding a boldneſs ſteal upon me, that I was not formerly capable of, by my converſation in the court and in the army, where that quality may beſt be learned.

The good ſucceſs you have had in your treaty at London, was joyfully received here, as a probable inducement of much happineſs both to the King and kingdom; but I do not find it will be of power to remove the Scots from their ſtrong hold of Newcaſtle, ſince my Lord Lieutenant hath in public declared an impoſſibility to regain that place this winter, and did likewiſe give Cumberland and Weſtmorland for loſt, if they attempt it; the moſt of his undertaking being a hope to preſerve Yorkſhire.

The Scotch treaty is to be removed from Rippon hither. I cannot conceive what effects it can produce, more than the drawing up of ſome particulars, by way of preparation for the Parliament. Their preſent demand is forty thouſand pounds a month for maintenance of their army, and ſo to free the country from contribution, until they are ſecured to have redreſs of their grievances.

The ſtrangeſt news I can inform you of is, that my Lord Lieutenant did invite me to dinner upon Wedneſday laſt, but I was ſo modeſt, as to refuſe that honour, and to forbear to trouble his Lordſhip, until I find more reality, and better grounds, to profeſs myſelf his ſervant, by my attendance upon him; and when the Parliament

Parliament doth ſit, the day will come ſhall pay for all. I beſeech you pardon this ſcribbled preſumption of CHARLES I. 1640.

Your moſt aſſured friend to ſerve you,

ST. ALBANS & CLANRICARDE.

York, the 9th of October, 1640.

Mr. Treaſurer Vane to the Same.

Right Honourable,

THIS morning, at nine of the clock, I received yours of the ninth. I ſhall begin with the cheeſemongers petition, and give you his Majeſty's pleaſure thereupon, which is, that he leaves to the Lords free power to give liberty to Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, to bring butter and cheeſe to London, as alſo grain; his Majeſty not doubting of the Londoners care, to prevent tranſporting of grain beyond the ſea; for that in theſe parts, theſe great rains that have fallen, have made an ill harveſt, and corn is like to prove very dear; beſides, it being ſo unhappy as to be made the ſeat of war, the people, if they ſtarve not, muſt be ſupplied out of the ſouth; and ſo, here incloſed, you ſhall receive the cheeſemongers petition from me. 11th Oct.

The treaty hath been required by his Majeſty (as I advertiſed you in my laſt) to be brought from Rippon to York; but the Scots, who give the law, will not depart from their grounds one tittle. His Majeſty and the Peers met this afternoon, where it was reſolved to continue the treaty at Rippon ſtill, and not break upon a punctilio for the place; but they preſſing much a ſpeedy anſwer to their demands, his Majeſty hath thought fit, with the advice of his Peers that aſſiſted, to ſend for thoſe at Rippon, and on Tueſday to ſend back the Commiſſioners thither, with ſuch reſolutions as ſhall be taken

CHARLES I. 1640.

taken to-morrow when the aſſembly meets, which will be at two of the clock. I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that the rebels have ſent their Commiſſioners powers to treat and conclude; they expect his Majeſty ſhould give the Engliſh the like; but I do not find they will ſend any more Commiſſioners than the firſt; for the reſt, I ſhall refer you to the papers here incloſed.

When I obſerved unto you, the difference betwixt the Privy Seal's and yours, it was not I conceived you to be miſtaken. God ſend us the firſt 50,000l. at the day; the reſt to follow; and that you agree upon the ſecurity. For we have many Thomas's amongſt us; and ſhould the city grow cold, or the Great Council not proceed by unanimous conſent, either may make a great diſorder in his Majeſty's affairs. I do well remember, that when the Peers agreed to write to the city for the 200,000l. they reſolved, all of them, to give any ſecurity for the ſame but land, if I be not miſtaken. Thus much I thought fit to give notice of to you, ſince the ſecurity is not yet agreed. Diſpatch it as ſoon as may be, and let the money come down; for, beſides the want thereof for the ſoldier, many here have not a ſtrong faith, nor will believe until it be at York. I pray God to ſend a happy concluſion of this treaty and aſſembly. And ſo reſt ever

Your Honour's, &c.

York,
this 11th of Oct. 1640.

H. VANE.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

AS his Majeſty and my Lords were ſitting in the aſſembly, I received your laſt this afternoon, where I acquainted the Lord Keeper of the diſtaſte that was taken by the city, and divers other of the Lords and Biſhops, that they had not received yet their writs of ſummons to attend in Parliament; and that this you had in charge from the Lords of the Council to advertiſe me of, that his Lordſhip might ſpeedily diſpatch them; which he hath promiſed ſhall be done accordingly. 13th Oct.

I writ to the Queen and the Lord Privy Seal, to whom I ſent his Majeſty's letter to the city, by my Lord of Newcaſtle's man; it being by his Majeſty's expreſs command, that I made a diſpatch to her Majeſty and his Lordſhip; that he, with the committee being principally entruſted with the negociation with the city for the 200,000 l. it was fit for them to have the diſpatch. Since which, you have heard at large from me, and I preſume you will not ſay I have been negligent in my correſpondency; and therefore, being then ſtraitned in time, you will excuſe me.

His Majeſty and my Lords have ſpent all this day in conſulting what anſwer to make to the laſt papers were ſent from the Scottiſh Commiſſioners, the which I ſent you in my diſpatch of the 11th preſent. The reſult of all which is, that the Lords are to return tomorrow to Rippon, with full powers from his Majeſty to treat and conclude; with ſome additional memorials, which were with the advice and conſent of the Peers; the copy whereof you ſhall receive here incloſed. I hope four or five days will diſcover what are the real intentions of the Scots, whether they intend peace or not; though they are ſubtle and very cloſe; and certainly muſt be principally

CHARLES I. A. 1640.

pally intended by the Lords Commiſſioners; for the Parliament draws on faſt, where his Majeſty will be certainly at the day; and nothing concerns him ſo much in theſe exigents and difficulties (next money) as the ſtreight of time which he is now left upon, and ought to be well huſbanded.

I have no more to trouble you with at preſent, but to tell you, as I was cloſing my letter, my Lord Keeper ſent word, that the writs were all ſealed ten days paſt, and put into the meſſengers hands, which I hope you will enquire after, and ſee puniſhed. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

York, this 13th of October, 1640.

H. VANE.

Secretary Windebanke to the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord,

13th Oct. ABOUT three weeks ſince, I repreſented to his Majeſty an advice that came to me from Sir Thomas Rowe *, that ſundry Scotch commanders and principal officers ſerving the Crown of Sweden, had then obtained licence to leave that ſervice, and were ready to come from thoſe parts, with a purpoſe to join themſelves with the rebels of Scotland. His Majeſty's anſwer was, that he had given your Lordſhip order in it; and that you were to take care to intercept them in their paſſage. There is now very lately come to me, a confirmation of the truth of that advice, by a Scottiſh gentleman, that was an eye-witneſs of it, upon Friday ſe'nnight; who aſſures me,

* He had been Ambaſſador at Hamburgh, and had very good German intelligence.

he

he then ſaw at Gottenburgh, divers of thoſe Scottiſh commanders ready to embark; and that there were three Scottiſh ſhips there in readineſs to receive them, and to tranſport with them very great quantities of ammunition and arms. He farther aſſures, that all this laſt Summer, there hath been the greateſt commerce at Gottenburgh from Scotland that hath ever been known; and that Scottiſh veſſels have continually paſſed thither and returned, notwithſtanding any of his Majeſty's ſhips, either at Tinmouth or any other part; of which ſhips of his Majeſty they ſpeak with great ſcorn and contempt. CHARLES I. 1640.

This coming to my knowledge, and conceiving it to be of imminent weight to his Majeſty's affairs to prevent the conjunction of ſo conſiderable and dangerous a reinforcement, both of men and ammunition, with the rebels, I held it my duty to repreſent it to your Lordſhip; to whoſe care this ſervice properly belongeth, humbly ſubmitting it to your wiſdom *. And ſo, &c.

Drury-lane,
13th October, 1640.

Mr. Treaſurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke.

Right Honourable,

I AM glad to underſtand by yours of the 14th, that you are ſo juſt and equal, as upon ſecond thoughts not to be angry, for which certainly I ſhall never endeavour to give you cauſe in the leaſt degree; if I do, I ſhall not be aſhamed to aſk your pardon. 17th Oct.

* The Earl of Northumberland was often ill when he ſhould have been active and in buſineſs, and did not take proper and early meaſures for intercepting the foreign ſupplies to the Covenanters. The great ſhips were fitted out and laid up again, when ſmall ones were moſt proper.

CHARLES I. 1640.

I was upon Thurſday laſt, by his Majeſty's command, at the deſire of the Peers, ſent to Rippon (where yours found me) to be aſſiſtant at the treaty, with the Commiſſioners; and though the three others my companions be in this town, yet they are not admitted to be preſent, but to be ready whenſoever the Engliſh Commiſſioners ſhall call for them; for the Scots will not admit them to be preſent at the debates. What hath paſt at the treaty ſince my laſt, the papers themſelves will tell you, which the Engliſh have delivered to the Scots, which you ſhall receive; and I conceive there will be little doubt of the Scots acceptance.

The Earls of Hertford, Briſtol, Holland, and Lord Mandeville, are ſent this day from the Engliſh Commiſſioners to his Majeſty, to conſult the papers with him and the Peers; and to return with the approbation both of his Majeſty, and that aſſembly.

I do perceive, not only by your laſt, but by one I have received from the Privy Seal, that it was he, not you, that was deceived in the account of the city buſineſs. I received, juſt now, a letter from his Majeſty, by which I perceive himſelf will quicken the diſpatch, which elſe I ſhould have done if I had been at Court, and that it had been neceſſary.

If there be not ſomething ſtill in the dark, I do not ſee, but when our four Lords are returned from York, which we expect to-morrow after dinner, or on Monday morning, but that two days after may finiſh the treaty; and then you may look that his Majeſty, within three or four days more, may look ſouthward. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

Rippon,
this 17th of October, 1640.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

THIS is only to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 16th, and to ſerve for a cover to a pacquet directed unto me from the Lord Keeper by his Majeſty's command, to the Lord Privy Seal. It concerns the city buſineſs, for the quickening them in their payment of their monies to his Majeſty; there being two letters from the Lords the Peers, the one to the Committee, the other to the Lord Mayor, concerning the ſame. I am this day leaving this place, and going to York, to prepare and take order for his Majeſty's return into the ſouth; which, though the day be not yet certain, cannot now be retarded; from thence you ſhall hear more particularly from me, both of the treaty, and what elſe occurs. And ſo I reſt 20th Oct.

Your Honour's, &c.

Rippon, this 20th of October 1640.

H. VANE.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

HIS Majeſty being now upon his return ſouthward, and myſelf being commanded by him to go to-morrow to Rippon to the Commiſſioners, and to return hither at night, I have only time to tell you, that this day I received yours of the 19th, and to tranſmit theſe incloſed papers unto you; by which you will ſee how the treaty ſtands at preſent. 21ſt October.

CHARLES I. 1640.

I thank you for the advertiſement you gave me of the Denmark's Ambaſſador's exception's; though he hath the ſame titles given him, his Majeſty gives the Prince of England, or to the Infante Cardinal; for to them is given *celſitudo*, not *ſerenitas*. But I ſhall to-morrow diſpatch another letter and ſend it to you, I having now no time; and if the Ambaſſadors be gone, it may be ſent after. And ſo I reſt

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

York,
the 21ſt of Oct. 1640, Twelve at night.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

23d Oct. I RECEIVED yours of the 21ſt preſent this day at twelve of the clock, and we are in as great a calm as you mention my Lords are in the Star Chamber or Council Table; for the Commiſſioners at Rippon are agreed of the ceſſation, and the treaty is remitted from Rippon to the Parliament, whither thoſe of Scotland are to ſend deputies. To-morrow thoſe from Rippon are expected here, I mean the Engliſh Lords; on Sunday I conceive they will make their report to the Great Council of their proceedings; and on Monday, the Keeper, with the Peers, will take their journey ſouthward; his Majeſty on Tueſday; and, for myſelf, by his command, I am not like to ſtir, but to ſee the laſt man born; the ways are ſo ill, that I purpoſe not to ride poſt; by the eve of the Parliament I hope I ſhall get to Whitehall, ſooner you are not to look for me. His Grace of York, it is thought, will not eſcape this ſickneſs, which is now ſeized upon him. His Majeſty hath made difficulty to give the Prince of Denmark *ſereniſſimo*; but I have at laſt prevailed, and you ſhall receive it here incloſed.

Your Honour's, &c.

H. VANE.

York,
this 23d of October, 1640.

The Lord Keeper Finch to the Queen.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

YOUR Majeſty, I know, hath had from Mr. Henry Percy a particular account of the proceedings both at York and Rippon, till the 22d of this month. What hath ſince paſſed, I am glad none can give you ſo juſt a relation of as myſelf; becauſe I have thereby the happineſs of preſenting my humble duty and ſervice to your Majeſty, to whom no man ſtands more obliged, nor can be more ambitious of expreſſing it. Yeſterday, being the 22d of this month, I received a letter from the Commiſſioners at Rippon, of which I ſend your Majeſty a copy herewith. This I preſently acquainted the King with, and had his directions to return an anſwer to them that night, which I did. I cannot ſend your Majeſty a copy of it, having had no time to take any; but it was to this effect, That his Majeſty never intended to hold the treaty at Rippon longer than their Lordſhips ſhould think convenient for his ſervice, the ſafety of the kingdom, and their own contentment; that he did, and ſtill doth reſolve to adjourn the treaty to London; but he forbore the declaration of it for a day or two, that it might appear to be dne with the more deliberation; and chiefly, that the Scots might thereby be the better induced to give a clear and full explanation of what they ſtood upon; and that his Majeſty expected their Lordſhips being here at York on Saturday; at which time, if they ſhould ſo adviſe, his Majeſty would give order for the adjournment. 23d October.

This afternoon Sir Peter Killegrew (who carried my letter) returned with two letters from the Commiſſioners, one to his Majeſty, the other to myſelf; of both which, I alſo ſend your Majeſty the copies. His Majeſty preſently gave me order to draw an inſtrument, which he ſigned, giving the Commiſſioners power to

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treat and ſettle with the Scots, all particulars concerning the adjournment of the treaty to London. And, by his Majeſty's direction, I alſo wrote unto them a letter, with which I ſent the powers under his Majeſty's hand, and therein, by his Majeſty's command, recommended to their Lordſhips care, the matter of ceſſation of arms, and the endeavouring, by all poſſible means, before their coming from Rippon, to get the Scots to ſet down their demands ſo clearly, that his Majeſty might know the uttermoſt of what they expected. Of theſe two, I can ſend your Majeſty no copies; for, as ſoon as I had written them, they were ſent away to Rippon, and this night will be delivered to the Lords Commiſſioners. I expect hereupon they will be here ſome time to morrow; and on Sunday in the afternoon, I believe, his Majeſty will call the Great Council together; where, when the Commiſſioners have given account of their proceedings at Rippon, I can yet foreſee nothing more to be done here, but that the Great Council will then diſſolve, and we may be coming towards London on Monday; where I can never hope for better content than in waiting on your Majeſty, and being a witneſs of your Majeſty's health, which is always in the beſt devotions of

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

and moſt faithful devoted ſervant,

York, Friday night, 23d October, 1640.

Jo. FINCH, C*.

* It is plain from this letter, that Finch was made Lord Keeper by the Queen's intereſt.

Earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde to Secretary Windebanke.

Sir,

THERE being a ceſſation of arms agreed upon, and the perfecting of the treaty transferred to London, we have little matter left for intelligence of public affairs. 26th Oct.

Having found ſuch admirable patience in your royal Maſter, I ſhall with the more boldneſs preſume upon your's, by giving you ſome account thereof. Yeſterday, in the afternoon, there happened a very ſharp rencounter (in his Majeſty's preſence) between my Lord Lieutenant and myſelf, which laſted above two hours†; and neither my reſolution nor memory failed me, to expreſs what could be objected againſt ſuch a perſon, by one ſo much injured as I conceived myſelf to be; and the debate had this concluſion, I have recovered all my tenures and chiefryes, that were ſo much threatened to be taken from me; and the King will make good his former grant, and the Lieutenant did engage himſelf to obey it; and to give direction for the diſpatch of it in Ireland. Only it doth ſtick upon this point; he, under pretence of ſervice to the King, would have Athleag, a principal manor of mine in the county of Roſcommon, and give me land for it, to the full value, in the county of Galway; and the King (as I conceive), more out of compaſſion to him in this conflict, than any neceſſity of his ſervice, requires my promiſe of this, before he confirms his former order. I have yet abſolutely refuſed it, as being contrary to his Majeſty's inſtructions; and that, if I admit of a breach in one part, it may run over all, and mangle my whole eſtate; for he would not particularly declare

† King Charles was patient and candid in hearing complaints, when not prejudiced againſt the perſons.

what

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what other exchanges ſhould be required for the advancement of that great ſervice. And this concluded the conference for the laſt night, to be this day renewed.

Give me farther leave to intreat the favour as to preſent my humble ſervice unto my Lord Cottington; and be pleaſed to impart unto him, this encounter of mine with his *eſpecial friend**; and if he will not eaſily pardon this offence, I may grow deſperate, and be apt to commit the ſame fault often. I have now no time to write to his Lordſhip, nor to add any more to this, than conſtantly to profeſs myſelf

Your moſt aſſured friend to ſerve you,

York, the 26th of October, 1640. ST. ALBANS and CLANRICARDE.

In the Great Council of the Peers, at York, Tueſday 25th September 1640, *in the Forenoon.*

PRESENT,

The King's moſt excellent Majeſty,

Lord Keeper,
Lord Privy Seal,
Marquis of Winchester,
Lord Chamberlain of the King,
Earl of Shrewſbury, &c. &c. &c.

By the King's command.

Petitions of Durham and Northumberland read.

Earl of Strafforde.

Great incommodity for the Lords to meet at Northallerton. Ripon the better place.

* Lord Strafforde.

Houſe's

Houſe's reſolution

To have the meeting at Rippon.

King commanded

The Lord Lanerick's anſwer of the 24th of September 1640, to the Scottiſh Earls letter and petition laſt ſent, to be read.

Biſhop of Durham.*

The petitions of the country expreſs their calamities. He adds, that the Lords commiſſioners may be prepared to anſwer the Scots, that ſay, the King hath commanded them to ſtay where they are, and therefore muſt be ſupplied.

His humble deſire that a motion may be made to the Scots Lords, by the commiſſioners, to forbear all hoſtility during the treaty.

King.

Before the commiſſioners go, to think what to do and ſay in that particular.

His Majeſty deſires the Lords to go to the buſineſs of the day, viz. the ſecond propoſition.

Lord Saville.

The propoſition, how the army ſhall be ſupplied? It had been good preventing the ill.

That thoſe of the King's officers, that know the ſtrength of his Majeſty's treaſury, do give the Lords information.

King.

If it had not been for ſome in London, the King would not have wanted.

The King, for a reaſonable time, can cauſe his army to ſubſiſt.

Unluckineſs in his Majeſty and his miniſters, elſe he had not wanted money.

* Morton.

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Earl Strafforde

Anſwers the objection.

If there had been good forecaſt in the buſineſs, by the King's miniſters, it might have turned out better.

It was the general advice of the council *.

King.

Let us think what is fit to be had; and then, how.

Matter of money only required; for other matters the King wants not.

He refers the information to the Lord Strafforde, and others, that know the ſtate of the army.

Two hundred thouſand pounds his Majeſty thinks a fit ſum.

Intended (as he conceives) to be reimburſed †.

North ‡:

Congratulates the King's preſence. One word of four ſyllables, *Parliament*, like the dew of Heaven.

He thinks this meeting will be of length.

The commiſſioners of Scots, will not recede from their firſt demands, for religion, &c.

Two ways for money, forced or free.

Force not to be uſed.

Free, he knows none but benevolence. And ſuppoſes all men will admit it, in regard of the good and ſafety of the public.

A royal ſubſidy heretofore given.

He will give a royal ſubſidy.

Earl Berkſhire.

Some propoſition to be made.

Yorkſhire, and ſhires adjacent, and London, to engage themſelves with promiſes to be repayed.

* Theſe minutes are very incorrect, and here, as in ſeveral other places, we are at a loſs for the preciſe meaning.

† *i. e.* to the lenders, when the Parliament met.

‡ Lord Northampton.

King.

Yorkſhire not able to go much farther. They are ready with their trained bands.

Earl of Strafforde.

Yorkſhire hath been at a vaſt charge; and ſo impoveriſhed, that their men are licenſed to go home, to be ready to return at an hour's warning.

They have need rather to be ſupplied; and that the Lords would contribute to them, as the wall between them and danger.

He offers to give an account of the ſtate of the army.

He took the army as he found it, and ſo would give an account, and is not accountable for former actions.

A fortnight's victual in arrear to Yorkſhire.

In pay, between nineteen and twenty thouſand foot.

Twenty-two or twenty-three hundred horſe, beſide the Scottiſh reformed officers regiments, all in pay; which amounts to ſixty thouſand pounds by the month; and this will be requiſite.

If this army diſſolve and diſband, the other army * being as it is, in ſuch a poſture, this country is loſt in two days, and the fire will at laſt go to the fartheſt houſe in the ſtreet. No hiſtory can mention ſo great an infamy, as the deſerting this.

Two hundred thouſand pounds as little as the army can ſubſiſt with, until the parliament ſupply; which is not ſpeedily paid.

It hath been his advice not to put it to a day, or to fight; but to wear them out by time. Imputed to him to be for fighting †; by reaſon, he ſaid, to put ſpirit in the retiring ſoldiers, that he would fight with them; and only for that reaſon ‡.

* *i. e.* The Scottiſh.

† This contradicts the common accounts of hiſtory. Indeed common hiſtory is common fame.

‡ Theſe vaunting ſpeeches given out to encourage the ſoldiers have occaſioned the miſtake about Lord Strafforde's opinion.

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Earl Berks.

A catalogue of the great towns in England, and the Lords to ſend under their hands, unto them.

Earl Briſtol †.

He conceives the propoſition for money, by way of benevolence, or racking the country, will not do.

The city of London muſt do it.

They will look for ſecurity.

By declaring a Parliament, the army ſtrengthened to ten thouſand men.

No want of money in London.

Good ſecurity offered; but hindered by diſaffection. Nothing hath hindered the ſupplies from London, but diſaffection to the courſes taken; as that of the mint and black money.

The benefit of this Parliament, and aſſurance that the people's grievances ſhall be relieved; their affection will return.

The beſt courſe will be, to let the Londoners know, by the Lords, of real courſes. If they may be ſecured, they will lend. Therefore the King's miniſters to conſider of it.

That nothing may foreſtal the Parliament, by the Lords.

Lord Goring ‡.

He differs only in one point, that if the Lords now go in a joint body to ſignify the King's real intents to the citizens, it will prevail.

King.

If not ſpeedily done, it will not be effectual.

Earl Berks.

To add other towns to London, as Briſtol, &c. by which they will be engaged; and that London ſhall ſee, it is not only they.

† No Peer had been worſe uſed by King Charles than Lord Briſtol, and none behaved better. He meant to ruin Laud and Straffordе, and then to ſupport the crown.

‡ Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, afterwards Earl of Norwich. He had profitable jobs, and was a fine gentleman of that day.

Earl

Earl Briſtol.

Some ſmall addition from other cities; but all will follow London; and they muſt begin the precedent.

Some of the Lords to be ſent to the Londoners, and by letter *.

Lord Keeper.

A letter to the Londoners from the Lords, under all their hands. Three or four of the Lords to be ſent with the letter.

Lords Committees to draw the letter.

Earl Strafforde,
Lord Keeper,
Lord Privy Seal,
Earl Briſtol,
Earl Hertford,
Earl Bedford,
Lord North,
Lord Goring,
My Lord Chief Juſtice,
and Mr. Attorney.
Mr. Secretary Vane.

Lord Maynard.

† *I could not hear.*

Lord Falconbridge.

† *I could not hear.*

Earl Briſtol.

Before the letter drawn, that the officers of the King may ſignify what ſecurity ſhall be given to the Londoners.

Earl Monmouth.

The Peers to give their ſecurity.

Earl Berks.

The letter, that the Lords will give their ſecurity, if the King's aſſignment be not ready.

King

Promiſes to repay the Lords.

* This opinion was followed.

† *i. e.* The note-taker could not hear.

Earl

CHARLES I. 1640.

Earl Briſtol.

All the Lords will engage themſelves. If this will not ſerve, let the King give what ſecurity he can, and in ſupplement the Lords will engage themſelves.

All the Lords

Offer to engage themſelves, every one freely, for the ſecuring of the Londoners, by bond.

Earl Bridgwater.

He conceives my Lord of Briſtol in the way to help for money; and not by him ſpoken at random. A Lord's ſecurity not of much force heretofore; but now, moving by a general ſoul, no man living, under ſuch a Prince, will refuſe.

The preſent getting the money, is the difficulty.

Not willing to look back: but our memory may warn us how to provide.

That no one Lord in this place, but is bound to help at this time.

He approves my Lord of Briſtol's motion.

The main tie, that which muſt come from the Parliament.

To trie all ſecurity of the King and the Lords.

Earl Eſſex.

Deſires expreſſion *.

Earl Bridgwater

Excuſes himſelf, and is fully cleared.

Lord Goring

To write to the Lord Treaſurer and other officers there, to comply with the Lords Commiſſioners at London.

Lord Wharton.

† *I could not hear.*

Earl Strafforde.

Carliſle and Berwick ‡, beſides the charge of the army.

The ſum, of neceſſity, to be mentioned in the letter.

* Obſcure; but it appears Lord Eſſex took ſomething amiſs.

† *i. e.* The note-taker.

‡ Expence of thoſe garriſons.

Earl

Earl Briſtol.

No leſs than two hundred thouſand pounds.

If too great a ſum, to be preſently furniſhed, to agree for as much as they can, for the preſent, procure.

The reſt of the cities not altogether to be ſet aſide.

Lord Goring.

The city ſick of keeping money, and therefore will lend.

25th September, Afternoon.

Preſent. His Majeſty, &c. &c.

The Lord Keeper

Reads the draught of the letter to the Londoners.

Ordered to be engroſſed by the Lord Keeper's *ſervant*.

The number of Lords to be ſent with the letters to London, was agreed to be ſix.

The King

Deſired to name them; who aſſigned theſe.

Lord Privy Seal,	Viſcount Camden,
Lord Chamberlain,	Lord Coventry,
Earl of Clare,	Lord Goring.

Agreed A Committee to draw the inſtructions for theſe Lords that go to London, to be my Lord Keeper and Privy Seal.

His Majeſty to write his letter to the officers of his revenue, to aſſiſt the Lords ſent to London.

Ordered, that my Lord of Durham do inſtruct the Lords that go, in writing, with the ſtate of the Biſhopric.

A letter of the King to the city of London.

The Lords that are to go, are not to engage the Lords farther than by bond.

To be added in the inſtructions, that the Lords preſent do deſire thoſe that are abſent, to join in the ſecurity.

Archbiſhop

CHARLES I. 1640.

Archbiſhop of York *

Objecteth, What if the Londoners ſhall ſay, you ſhall have the money, when we ſhall have the ſecurity?

Commiſſion of inquiry made by the Scots, of Biſhops and papiſts rents, &c. *read, by his Majeſty's command.*

Biſhop of Durham.

Some man of authority to be ſent by the King, to command the Scots to abſtain from exacting the contributions during the treaty.

Lord Grey.

The like in effect for Northumberland.

Reſolved, not to be done, until the King be in better poſture †.

Lord Maynard.

A copy of Leſley's commiſſion, and other petitions of like nature, to be ſent by the Lords to London.

What ſeal the letter to London ſhall be ſealed with?

Reſolved, no ſeal at all ‡.

Lord Keeper

Reads the draughts of the inſtructions for the Lords that go to London.

1. Petitions of Durham, and others, to be carried to London by the Lords.

2. To acquaint them with the acts of this aſſembly of the Peers.

3. The ſecurity to be offered, is by bond.

4. All other Peers are to be deſired to engage.

5. The officers of the King ſhall be required to aſſiſt the Lords.

6. They ſhall agree of the time of payment.

Lord Strafforde.

Fifty thouſand pounds to be lent within a fortnight.

A hundred thouſand pounds within a month after that.

And fifty thouſand pounds within a fortnight after.

* Dr. Richard Neile.

† Becauſe the Scots would not mind it.

‡ It ſhould have been with the Signet, the council being convened by the King's authority.

Marquis of Hamilton.

The Lords to require the Londoners payment to be fifty thouſand pounds by the 12th of October next.

A hundred thouſand pounds by the 15th of November.

And fifty thouſand pounds by the 1ſt of December.

And for this, they are to require the aſſiſtance of the officers of the revenue.

The 26th September, 1640. Morning.

Preſent his Majeſty, &c.

His Majeſty commanded the letter to the Londoners to be read. Which was done.

All the Lords preſent called by the clerk, by the roll, to ſubſcribe their names; which they did at the table where the clerk writes.

The ſuperſcription was,

To our very loving friend the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Citizens and commonalty of the city of London.

Inſtructions for the Lord Deputies to treat with London, read, and ordered to be ſubſcribed thus; *Examinatur per me Johannem Borough, clericum magni concilii. York, the 25th of September*, 1640.

The Lords Deputies went to the King under the ſtate, and there kiſſing his hands, took their leave.

Ordered, That the Lord Traquair, Lord Morton, and Lord Lanerick, ſhall go with the Lords appointed to treat with the Scots at Rippon.

Concerning inſtructions for the Lords deputed to treat with the Scots.

Lord Saville.

The demands which they inſiſt upon, and ſigned by my Lord Traquair and Lord Loudon, to be carried with the Lords Commiſſioners.

To have notice of what points they have broken ſince the pacification.

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King.

The original demand ſigned by the Lord Loudon, not now inſiſted upon.

Lord Saville.

That the Lord Traquair may anſwer, as he is a gentleman, what * * *

Lord Traquair.

The Lord Loudon, upon his coming here ſaid, that their demands were ſcandalized at the council table.

He diſcharged the truſt, not only things paſſed between them and him.

He related *rem geſtam*, as acts of Parliament.

What he related, was hiſtorically, leaving to the Scots to ſhew their reaſons.

He was obliged as a rational man.

He gave in articles, by command, at the council table twice, all acknowledged by Lord Loudon.

He will acknowledge he hath wronged them, if they acknowledge not all he informed.

The firſt paper, was their demands.

The ſecond, their acts, which be proper to be read by the Lords.

As where the Lord Loudon ſaith, that Lord Traquair did report, as commiſſioner to the King's beſt advantage; but, as a gentleman, would not avow all. He offereth, if he be there at the meeting, he will deliver all his knowledge as a faithful counſellor and juſt man.

King.

The originals of the papers are at London.

But they ſhall have copies.

Lord Traquair.

He will ſign the copy, and make it good.

Lord

Lord Saville.

Whether the Lords ſhall inſiſt upon the pacification to be broken by the Scots?

King.

It will be cleared in the inſtruction.

Lord Traquair.

To deſcend to particulars.

Earl Berkſhire.

To know whether their acts have broken, &c.

Earl Briſtol.

This day's work; to put it into heads, viz. 3.

In the firſt place, how my Lords are to be diſpatched.

The King hath been pleaſed, that the great council hath nominated the Lords.

That the Lords may be accompanied by letters, as thoſe that went to London.

A Committee for drawing letters.

King

Deſires to be underſtood.

My Lord miſunderſtands that they have not been heard; and the King not fully ſatisfied of their unreaſonable demands.

The Lords will adviſe nothing but honourable, juſt and ſafe.

They have been heard and heard again; but will not preſs it.

Only deſires to be adviſed by them.

That the Lord Traquair do ſet down the ſtate, and thereupon the Lords to judge.

Briſtol.

He ſpeaks of the Scots pretenſions. They muſt be armed with arguments, and ſatisfied how it takes away their pretenſions.

King.

No letter. Enough honour, that rebels are admitted to treat.

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Briſtol.

If without letter, they go as the King's commiſſioners, not as in the name of the whole houſe.

Lord Saville.

He deſires to know if they ſhall have power to allow all the Scots can prove.

Lord Berkſhire.

The Lords Commiſſioners can conclude nothing, but to report unto the Great Council.

King.

To go inſtructed why the King cannot grant ſuch and ſuch things; and upon their objections to report to the King.

Earl Briſtol.

If to go upon the act of pacification, they * muſt ſhow this or this is in the pacification. The Lords muſt ſhew the contrary.

King.

We muſt have a rule.

Whether the pacification ſhall be the rule?

Earl Berkſhire.

If the pacification not the rule, what ſhall?

Lord Keeper.

The pacification hath not been read, and therefore loth to make it a rule.

Not to reſolve that to be the rule, until the Council know the Scots allegation. It will be a ſhew of prejudging before, if now ſet down as a rule.

King

Differs, and thinks a rule fit.

The pacification to be it. Whether not diſhonourable to go farther than the pacification?

* The Scots.

If

If the pacification be held, it will alter divers laws and conſtitutions of Scotland.

But if to go, to ſee what the King hath done.

Earl of Holland.

Reaſons. They will urge oaths; the Lords to have information to anſwer.

King.

The King never ſwore to the pacification.

Lord Traquair.

The miſtake is, they demanded aſſurance to the articles, which were ſigned by the King, but never ſworn unto.

Marquis of Hamilton.

He ſigned a covenant by order of the King, but never ſworn unto.

Lord Traquair.

It will appear, that they will urge pamphlets, which will breed long debate.

Never any queſtion concerning the articles of pacification between him and the Scots; but never any oath.

Matter in writing muſt be the proof, not what diſcourſe happened.

He will ſtand upon nothing but what is under the clerk's hand, or their own.

Lord Strafforde.

The firſt time he heard of an oath.

What the ground ſhall be of this debate.

He conceives the King hath offered graciouſly.

He will make good the pacification.

That, the rule.

Nothing to be ſaid, but what falls under the heads of that pacification.

They require an act of juſtification; the pacification mentions an act of oblivion.

They

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They demand to alter the whole courſe of electing the Lords of the articles; which is a fundamental law of that kingdom *.

All the Lords engage to maintain the King in his right of the Crown, as if they were the rights of the Crown of England.

The Privy Council adviſed, that if they would inſiſt upon their demands, they ſhould be reduced to obedience by force.

Whether go farther than the pacification?

The articles of pacification to be the rule.

Not to go farther than the pacification, while they are in arms.

Earl Berks.

They did not at Berwick, except againſt my Lord Marquis and Colonel Ruthven to be admitted into the caſtle of Edinburgh.

Lord Saville.

Agrees with Lord Strafforde in matter, but not in reaſons.

If any thing ſhall be offered for the good of Scotland, though to alter an old law †.

King.

They are now in rebellion; but when they are reduced, then he will conſider of matters of grace ‡.

Lord Strafforde.

He would not have the King exceed the pacification, while they are in arms.

He moves to chuſe ſome other, in place of my Lord Clare, being ſick.

Ordered, the other five may go without him.

Earl Briſtol.

Whether the pacification to be the rule?

The Scots will make it the rule.

* Altered in 1641, reſtored at the reſtoration, re-altered at the revolution.

† Means (I preſume) that it ought to be done.

‡ But the King did not conſider that rebels, on equal terms, may eaſier be induced than forced.

Ordered,

Ordered, the pacification to be the rule.

In the afternoon, to begin by the pacification, to ſee in what points they have broken it. And to ſee all their demands.

Earl Hertford.

If the pacification be as the text, and differed upon, who ſhall judge?

King.

The King, and the Lords here, to be Judges *.

They demand that the garriſons in Berwick and Carliſle ſhould be diſmiſſed. Not within the articles.

They dare not ſay it is within the articles.

Lord Marquis of Hamilton.

To think what articles of inſtruction to give unto the Lords.

King.

Inſtructions to ſhew how the Scots demands go with the articles of pacification.

In the afternoon.

PRESENT.

The King.

Lord Keeper, Lord Marquis, Mancheſter, Shrewſbury, &c. &c.

Earl of Briſtol

Beſeecheth the King to preſide as Moderator of this afternoon's work. Which the houſe humbly intreated.

The pacification read.

Biſhop of Durham.

The party that breaks the covenant, diſſolves the covenant.

Earl Briſtol.

Since the pacification to be the rule, whether the Lords ſhall not preſs the Scots to make it their rule, and then to examine particulars?

* To be ſure as to England.

King.

CHARLES I. 1640.

King.

What, if they will not ſtand, becauſe they ſay the King hath broken?

He deſires that his freedom ſhould not oblige him to his prejudice; he is content to - - - -

Secretary Vane.

Reſolved, He may ſpeak as an aſſiſtant.

Neceſſary that the Scots do join in iſſue, that the pacification ſhall be the rule.

They have expreſſed to deſire nothing more than the pacification.

They have violated the pacification.

They deſire by their petition laſt come in, to come to a ſpeedy concluſion.

That petition to be read; and that to be the firſt ground of the treaty; they have deſired only to have acceſs to be heard.

Earl Briſtol.

He is confident they will not refuſe the rule of the pacification.

1. Rational. 2. By their publiſhed papers, they inſiſt upon the pacification. 3. Marquis of Hamilton informed they would admit the pacification to be the ground.

King.

Whether it will not be a diſhonour to the nation, to yield that they refuſe that pacification that they have yielded unto?

Marquis of Hamilton.

All the letters are, that they would yield to the pacification; and in his opinion, that they will ſtill; but only his opinion *.

King.

His Majeſty is of another opinion. They will ſay, the King hath broken the pacification, and therefore they not now obliged.

* The pacification was drawn in ſuch general terms, that each party put different ſenſes upon it. It was a haſty buſineſs.

Marquis of Hamilton.

They forced to do what they did, ſince, the pacification being broken.

King.

If they ſhall ſay, the King broke firſt, and therefore not obliged now, what to anſwer?

Lord Strafforde.

They have firſt broken. Firſt, to render all forts, and then to diſcharge their tables.

King.

Whether the Lords ſhall hold them to the pacification?

Lord Strafforde.

To lay aſide all diſpute about the pacification; but to know whether now they will ſtand to the pacification.

Lord Briſtol.

All to be declined, that may cauſe diſpute. No concluſion to be made upon the pacification; but upon all the matter.

Two ways. 1. If his Majeſty were in caſe, it were beſt to bring them on their knees. 2. But now, conſidering their ſtrength, Newcaſtle and the two provinces taken, we muſt now ſpeak of the buſineſs, as to men that have gotten theſe advantages.

King.

The inſtructions will be very ſhort.

1. The pacification to be the rule.

2. That the Lords have adviſed the King to ſtick to the pacification, and that the King conceives the laws deſired *, to be a breach, and the Lords to know the reaſons.

Lord Traquair.

Whether the pacification the rule? He ſees no rule but that, They have no ground to take away ſome laws, but the pacification.

* Before the war, and after the pacification.

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King.

Inſtructions the only queſtion.

Lord Saville.

No queſtion but that his Majeſty is to ſtick to the pacification. But if they ſhall ſay they will not; What to anſwer?

Lord Mandeville.

The pacification the rule. If they propound any other matter, to report to the King.

King.

To hold them to the pacification. If they will be freed, then the Lords to adviſe the King to be free.

Earl Strafforde.

The Lords not to conclude, but to hear, and to report to the King and the Lords. To hear in the mean time, what can be ſaid for the King, as well as what for them.

Lord Mandeville.

He conceived that the Lords ſhould enforce the King's reaſons, and to hear theirs, and to report.

Marquis of Hamilton.

The Lords Commiſſioners to attend the King, to hear what can be ſaid.

King.

Information to the Lords in general.

Inſtructions to be by the Lords agreed.

Agreed, The Lords that go this journey, with the King. Lord Keeper to draw up inſtructions.

They return from the Committee; who agree that the inſtructions ſhall come from the King.

MEMORANDUM.

MEMORANDUM.

This Order is to be entered the 28th of September.

"IT was this day ordered by his Majeſty, with the advice of the Peers, that Mr. Attorney General ſhall prepare a bill ready for his Majeſty's ſignature, containing a commiſſion to Francis Earl of Bedford, William Earl of Hertford, Robert Earl of Eſſex, William Earl of Saliſbury, Robert Earl of Warwick, Henry Earl of Holland, John Earl of Briſtol, Thomas Earl of Berks, Philip Lord Wharton, William Lord Paget, Edward Lord Kimbolton, Robert Lord Brooke, John Lord Pawlet of Hinton St. George, Edward Lord Howard of Eſcrick, Thomas Lord Saville, and Francis Lord Dunſmore *; giving unto them, or any ten or more of them, power to treat with Charles Earl of Dumfermlin, John Lord Loudon, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, Sir Patrick Hepburne of Wauchtown, John Smith, Alexander Wedderburne, Alexander Henderſon, and Archibald Johnſton, or any of them, deputed by his Majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, or nominated on their behalfs; and to take into conſideration the demands of the ſaid Scots; and to compoſe and conclude all differences ariſing thereupon, or otherwiſe, as they, or any ten or more of them, in their wiſdoms ſhall think fit."

Monday, 28th September, 1640.

PRESENT.

The King's Majeſty, &c. &c. &c.

Two letters read in anſwer to the Lord Lanerick's letter of treaty; the one of the 25th, the other of the 26th.

The copy of the ſafe-conduct required by the Scots read.

Debated whether the Peers ſhall ſubſcribe.

* Moſt of theſe Lords were then Patriots.

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Earl Briſtol.

Ancient charters with this, *teſtibus*, of the nobles.

Biſhop of Wincheſter *.

Evident, that in Matthew Paris, divers names of the Lords are ſubſcribed to charters.

Earl Huntington.

A deed of Ed. VI.'s time, in his keeping, where the King ſigned above, and the Lords under.

King

Will not expreſs one way or other, but do this with the Lords advice.

Lord Saville.

It is a *dilemma.* Moves that the King will expreſs himſelf.

King

Excuſes himſelf. If he aſk counſel, he will follow it; if command, he looks to be obeyed.

Lord Keeper.

That they may be commanded by the King to ſubſcribe.

King.

If they adviſe him to command them, he will do it.

When a counſel is given by the moſt part, all the Lords are included.

Earl Eſſex.

They know not the ſtate of the army, and therefore can give no advice.

Mr. Secretary.

Kings have complied in ſome caſes, which they would not otherwiſe have done.

* Dr. Walter Curle.

To

To paſs over theſe *punctilios*, whereby the maſk of the Scots will be diſcovered.

He offers it, whether it be not beſt to ſubſcribe it as is deſired, and without any command from the King?

Earl Briſtol.

The King may go ſingle in his courts, as Starchamber; and there is no voting in councils where the King is preſent.

King.

This being new, he will not do it of himſelf, but by the advice of their Lordſhips.

The King is confident to do nothing without their counſel.

Biſhop of Durham.

To put it to the queſtion.

Houſe.

All againſt it*.

King.

No vote againſt it, therefore to paſs.

Earl Strafforde.

Queſtion, Whether the ſafe conduct ſhall be ſubſcribed by the Lords?

His opinion, the King to ſubſcribe it only. A preſumption to ſet their hands.

Earl of Monmouth, and *Duke of Lenox*, diſſent from ſubſcribing, ſo *Earl Bridgwater*.

Earl Briſtol.

The laſt year, the King's paſs under the Secretary's hand. But upon their refuſal to come, the King ſigned it.

He deſires it to be *interlocutory* between my Lord Strafforde and him, to know of him, 1ſt, Whether the King ſhall break, if they refuſe?

* *i. e.* All againſt putting it to the queſtion.

CHARLES I. 1640.

refuſe? 2dly, Whether upon my Lord Strafforde's knowledge, and the reſt of the officers, the army be in poſture to oppoſe, if break? If ſo, then the Lords will agree.

King *.

No man here to give another man ſatisfaction, nor to diſpute the cauſe between man and man.

Diſtinguiſhes; the army ſufficient, and not ſufficient.

Whatſoever the Lords will counſel with an unanimous conſent, he will do it.

To look to honour.

His army ſtrong enough, if their Lords do agree with him.

The King will refuſe nothing that is reaſonable.

But to fear to break, becauſe they are ſtronger, he will not.

He allows free ſpeech, and takes no exception; or if he did, he would openly and plainly do it.

Earl Strafforde.

He came at the end of the debate, and therefore might miſtake.

The firſt time, if commanded, he would obey.

If the ſecond time commanded, he would obey.

Great difference between the *teſtibus*, and to have names ſubſcribed.

Anſwer my Lord of Briſtol.

1. Whether in caſe the ſafe-conduct be refuſed, he would adviſe to break the treaty?

He will not adviſe poſitively to break a treaty; it is of too high a nature.

But not to agree to all they demand, but to ſtand upon honour and juſtice; and this to be the rule.

And he ſuppoſed they will accept that is ſo †, rather than the King to grant that is not ſo.

* The King was in the right, but my Lord Strafforde anſwers the queſtions directly.

† *i. e.* Honourable, &c.

2. Much leſs to aſſure that the army is in caſe to drive them out of the kingdom.

The events of war are doubtful, and not poſſible for to give aſſurance of the ſucceſs.

He will give an account of the ſtate of the army; and they to adviſe what is fit to be done.

He will give now an account.

He hath given an account of the army, to the Lords of the council before.

They might be then not in caſe to fight, but may now be.

They had not then the uſe of their arms.

If now they have, they are in caſe to fight.

Their ſoldiers as unfit for fight then as we, and therefore come upon equal terms.

We have more men, than they have at Newcaſtle and Durham; theirs, not above twenty thouſand foot.

We nineteen thouſand foot in pay, beſides twelve thouſand of the trained bands: who are——

Their horſe, about eighteen hundred or two thouſand, and a thouſand dragoons. Their arms——

Our horſe, two thouſand three hundred or two thouſand four hundred.

He will undertake that the King's army ſhall have the uſe of their arms, which is all can be expected of him; but will not give any aſſurance of ſucceſs.

If money be not wanting, his Majeſty may be in condition to give them the law.

We are not to agree to all they require, for fear of breach.

He can tell the ſtate *in facto*; but their Lordſhips know beſt how to adviſe. He will give his opinion.

Earl

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Earl Briſtol.

He explains all.

Lord Saville.

They did not require their hands; but out of doubt that their ſecurity cannot be good, without the ſubſcription of the Peers.

They cannot adviſe that it is not ſecure without their ſubſcription.

King.

He deſires their advice, and will not do without them.

Northampton.

He offers, if his Majeſty ſigning at the top, and they at the bottom, it takes away their preſumption.

King.

Either that they do ſubſcribe, or with *his teſtibus*; or the King to write a fair letter, that it is not the cuſtom of England to ſubſcribe.

Earl Hertford.

Earl Briſtol.

King.

It is not for the honour of him or them, to adviſe any thing that may have a doubtful conſtruction. Therefore plainly to do, what they do.

Lord Keeper.

He is of opinion *his teſtibus.*

Lord Warwick.

King.

Never any ſafe-conduct, but only by the King.

Lord Mandeville.

He thinks it may fairly be *his teſtibus*, if they ſubſcribe by the King's command.

Lord

Lord Brooke.

They will accept of it, with *his teſtibus.*

The ſafe conduct commanded to be read.

Earl Hertford.

They may ſubſcribe without exception; for it is by their advice, and ſo they ſubſcribe.

Earl Berks.

An advice never ſigned.

Earl Hertford.

We can give them no ſafe conduct of ourſelves.

King.

The conſtruction of ſubſcribing to advice, and not to the ſafe conduct, will not be conſtrued ſo in any place but here.

Lord Pawlet.

Never adviſe the King to command them to ſign, being new.

But a letter under their hands to the Scots, ſignifying it is not the cuſtom.

Lord Wharton.

Subſcription only an addition.

Marquis of Hamilton.

The Scots deſire by their letter, his Majeſty to ſign the ſafe conduct.

The Lords to ſend a letter, ſhewing, that it is new to have them ſubſcribe.

Earl Berks.

If they mean well, this letter will ſatisfy. If not, it will pull off the vizard.

King.

Mr. Secretary to draw a ſafe conduct, leaving out the clauſe of aſſurance; and ſome Lords to be appointed to draw a civil letter to

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ſhew, that the Lords ſubſcription is not uſual in this kingdom to ſafe conducts.

Mr. Secretary hath the frame of ſafe conduct.

The Lord Keeper to make the letter of the lords.

Lord Keeper.

Reads the draught of the letter of the Lords to the Scots, that not agreeable to the cuſtom of England, for ſubjects to ſubſcribe.

The King only to ſign it in the Peers' preſence.

The letter engroſſed and read: and agreed unto.

Mr. Attorney General reads the draught of the commiſſion for the Lords to treat.

Earl Briſtol.

To know what commiſſion they have to treat, and what commiſſion will ſatisfy his Majeſty.

The draught of the inſtructions read.

28*th September*, 1640. *Afternoon.*

The letter from the Lords, concerning the ſafe-conduct, read, allowed and ſigned by the Lords. The Biſhops omitted.

Sealed and delivered to Sir Peter Killegrew, to be carried to the Scots Lords.

I was commanded by the King, and the houſe ordered, that I ſhould enter this order concerning that letter, &c.

Order, viz. The letter from the Lords of the great council to divers Earls, Lords and others, of Scotland, at Newcaſtle, about their ſafe conduct for coming, going, and ſtaying at Rippon, during the treaty, being this day preſented to his Majeſty and the Lords, and by them approved, his Majeſty commanded the Lords to ſign the ſame.

The

The inſtructions read.

Debate about the 4th article concerning incendiaries.

Marquis of Hamilton.

To leave a latitude for the Lords to hear, and them to accuſe; but not for the King to invite them to accuſation.

He deſires they may have the latitude to accuſe any, eſpecially himſelf.

Lord Saville.

They did not mean Marquis of Hamilton.

Earl Traquair.

The Scots will treat it of an incendiary upon him; but deſires, as the Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord Loudon ſhall acknowledge all that he hath averred.

King.

They accuſe; who ſhall be judge?

Marquis of Hamilton.

The Scots deſire that the offenders may be ſent into Scotland, to be puniſhed there according to the laws.

The inſtructions read and agreed upon, and ordered to be engroſſed.

Delivered to Mr. Secretary to be engroſſed.

Heads to be demanded of the Scots, by the Lords.

1. Why they come into England?
2. Why exact contribution?
3. Why break their own agreement?

Lord Conway.

They demand ſtraw and hay, above contribution, as being in an enemy's country.

The order of Leſley himſelf.

Lord Briſtol.

Some Lords to be appointed to draw heads of ſuch things as the Lords ſhall demand of them.

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Lord Conway.

One Blair, an officer of theirs at Morpeth, coming to raiſe the contribution, and delayed, ſaid, they would make Engliſhmen draw in carts, as they did at Hamburgh.

King.

What the Lords ſhall aſk of them. Not to ſpeak of particular abuſes; for that will be infinite.

If there were a competent judge, he would willingly ſubmit the judgment, whether he had broken the pacification.

Lord Keeper.

Heads.

1. Their pretences for coming in, and why they have done ſuch injuries.

King.

His Majeſty propoſeth, whether they ſhall propoſe ſuſpenſion of arms to the Lords, as the Lords to them.

29*th September*, 1640. *Forenoon.*

PRESENT

The King's Majeſty.

Lord Fauconbridge.

I could not hear.

Earl Berkſhire.

To drive the cattle out of Durham and Northumberland here, for the King's proviſion.

King.

It cannot be done.

Biſhop of Durham.

The corn rots on the ground. No money in the country. All the country like to ſtarve the next year.

He

He hears, he ſhould be ſaid to have an inclination to war.
He is not for war.
His ſuffering for his ſermon.
His prayers for peace.

King.

1. Whether a ſuſpenſion of arms, and whether it ſhall be firſt moved by us or them?

2. What ceſſation of arms?

Earl Briſtol.

Not honourable for the King to move; but to leave a latitude to the Lords commiſſioners, and they to take the beſt hints to move.

King.

Supplemental inſtructions are to be given to the Lords Commiſſioners, leaving power unto them, to move, or to accept of, any thing concerning ſuſpenſion of arms, as they ſhall ſee cauſe, upon the place.

Lord Conway.

What ceſſation of arms is to be had?

It extends itſelf to not fighting, nor doing any act of hoſtility.

It will be well, if they can be brought not to ſpoil the country.

King.

To reduce them not to exact of the county.

Lord Conway.

They cannot advance with their army; and for parties, it will make our men.

Not to make forts on either ſide, will make for the King's part.

Whether the King ſhall give the Scots leave to bring in victuals out of Ireland, or Scotland?

Houſe.

It will be fit. By this means they will be unmaſked.

Mr.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Mr. Treaſurer.

Ceſſation of arms is, not to do any act of hoſtility during the treaty againſt the army; but doth not debar the taking of contribution.

Earl Briſtol.

All.

Marquis of Hamilton.

Scotland cannot ſupply their army with victuals.

To have it by ſea, is uncertainty.

The beſt, to move them to ſend away a great number of their men.

Lord Brooke.

If they remove their men, what ſecurity for the reſt?

Marquis of Hamilton.

To think upon a way, to give them ſatisfaction.

Earl Briſtol.

The Scots to bring what they can by ſea. During the treaty, any of the Engliſh that will carry victual to ſell them, may. But they have no money.

To debate the remaining, and leſſening of the numbers, of their men.

No reſolution concerning this, but upon the place.

Biſhop of Durham.

They have proviſion for three months.

Earl Briſtol.

They will ſpend nothing of their proviſion.

King.

The Lords, in their treaty concerning the ſuſpenſion of arms, are to take the beſt care they can, for the relief of ſuch counties as are under contribution.

One

One caution to the Lords Commiſſioners, that they lay grounds they may be ſure the Scots can take no advantage of; for they are ſubtle people.

The Lords Commiſſioners, a great and honourable number; but the adverſary, mean.

Marquis of Hamilton.

The Scots are very well inſtructed, and well verſed in their laws; the Engliſh Lords, not.

King.

When the Lords unanimouſly ſhall think this or that to be juſt and rational, the Scots dare not deny; and a Parliament will join.

Lord Saville.

If their pacification do draw an alteration of law as in Scotland, what they may agree? Say the King grants an aſſembly, what if they then will alter law?

Marquis of Hamilton.

Aſſemblies cannot alter Law.

King.

They confeſs that an aſſembly cannot alter a fundamental law; but other laws may be altered by agreement in Parliament.

Ordered, No copies of the inſtructions to be given, but to the Lords Commiſſioners.

Mr. Secretary.

The Lords that go, to think of a preamble; and to agree of a ſpeaker among themſelves.

They agree my Lord of Briſtol ſhall ſpeak the preamble, and be prolocutor.

Afternoon.

CHARLES I. 1640.

29th September. Afternoon.

Acts read that the King; excepts againſt and the Earl of Traquair explained every one as they were read *.

Earl Briſtol.

The firſt, for the Lords to demand to ſee their commiſſion; and to report unto the King, and to proceed in the mean time.

Earl Holland.

Not to demand their commiſſion, leſt, treating upon it, the Lords may ſeem to allow it.

Earl Briſtol.

To ſend up to the King their report of the buſineſs, with their advice.

Earl Strafforde.

The buſineſs like to draw out in length, by hearing, reporting, and the council to adviſe.

To diſcharge his duty concerning my Lord of Briſtol's demands, whether the King's army can beat out the Scots.

He aſſures them, if ſupply come not, the King's army will diſband, and this country loſt.

In caſe the city of London ſhould not lend money, it will be too late, unleſs ſome proviſion be made in the mean time. He preſents it to the King and Lords in diſcharge of his duty, leſt it be laid to his charge. Something more, than to reſt upon London.

If this army diſband, all this part of the kingdom is loſt.

Whether the Lords will not think of ſome other means, if London ſhould fail?

Earl Briſtol.

The Lords for the moſt part living in the country, and ignorant of the King's eſtate, not able to propound ways of ſupplies beſides

* What a groſs miſtake has Lord Clarendon made, that no body was appointed to give information?

London. But if any of his Majeſty's officers and others will propound means, they will debate it. CHARLES I. 1640.

King.

Lord Strafforde ſpake with no diffidence of the city of London; but fit to have more than one ſtring to their bow.

Earl Strafforde.

Eight thouſand men well armed, well diſciplined, and well affected, ready to be commanded by the King, a train of artillery of ſixty pieces, and all munition accordingly.

He thinks, for a ſecond ſupply, if London fail, that every county where theſe men were preſt, might ſupply two months pay for them, according to every pariſh; and the Deputy-lieutenants to treat with the people.

King.

Some of theſe men out of remote ſhires; how then can the ſupply come in from them in time?

Lord Saville.

He propoſes the propoſition may be thought of.

King.

Great reaſon; and added, if London ſhould fail, to adviſe him what to do. They * counſelled him not to diſband his army, and therefore they would deſign means how to keep it together, if London ſhould fail †.

York, Tueſday, 6th October, 1640. Afternoon.

His Majeſty preſent.

The Earls of Hertford, Briſtol, and Holland, and the Lords Wharton and Saville, myſelf ‡ attending them, came to town, as Committees from the Lords Commiſſioners at Rippon.

* The Lords.

† It is remarkable how pertinent a ſhare King Charles bore in all theſe debates.

‡ Sir J. Borough, who took the notes.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Letter of the Lord Privy Seal and other Lords ſent, which they wrote to his Majeſty, concerning their ſucceſs in the city, read, by the King's command.

His Majeſty commanded the Lords returned from Rippon to make their relation.

Earl Briſtol.

The paper of ſafe-conduct and aſſiſtance 5th Oct. was read by me, and his Lordſhip declared the debate; ſo was the Scots anſwer thereto.

Alſo the Lords paper of propoſition, concerning the maintenance of their army, and their anſwer 5th Oct. Alſo the paper of my Lord Briſtol's demand, whether forty thouſand pounds were poſitively by them to be ſtood upon, and the Scots anſwer thereto 5th Oct.

Earl Hertford.

Either we muſt drive them out, or a competency to be allowed for maintaining their army.

Earl Northampton.

He will allow them nothing; but if it muſt be paid †, he would have it paid to his Majeſty.

Lord Maynard.

Only ſix Commiſſioners here, moves that the reſt at Rippon may be ſent for.

Earl Holland.

It would break up the treaty there.

No reaſon that the King ſhould pay an invader's army. But the caſe is to be ſtated; they have a powerful army; fifty thouſand, as they ſay. Two ways, either to remove them by force, or to maintain them, leaſt they ſpoil the country. This maintenance during the treaty, and is only by way of preparation to a treaty. To give them money would argue they have the better army. If able to

† The contribution.

repel

repel them, no maintenance to be given; but if they have the better, for preventing of ſpoiling the country, to come to ſome compoſition. He thinks it may ſtand with honour §.

King.

None of the Lords will adviſe to give a penny, if they could remove them by force.

Nothing can be undertaken, as to warrant ſucceſs.

He will do nothing but with their Lordſhips advice.

He will lay the ſtate of his army unto them.

Let him have, according to my Lord Northampton's propoſition, and he will do his beſt.

If the adjacent counties will do any thing, as they offer.

Since money is to be given to him, or them, or both; if laying all to the King's army, there may be a ſtop given them.

Earl Briſtol.

Whatſoever is given, is given to the King. This admits no debate; for it muſt be during the treaty or ceſſation.

If, upon a contingent hope of money, a certain treaty be put off, it is to be conſidered.

If there be not certain means to maintain war, it is not to be put to a contingency. Therefore the King's officers to conſider of it.

King *.

He deſires to ſpeak as Duke of York.

Heed to be taken to raiſe means with a ſhock of Parliament, as Earl Briſtol ſays.

A ſhock † of Parliament to give invaders or rebels money.

Though we refuſe their demands, yet a middle way to treat.

One thing he deſires to be remembered. The city hath promiſed to lend two hundred thouſand pounds; this will maintain the army three months.

§ Query, Whether Lord Holland was not in intelligence with the Scots?

* This ſpeech of the King's very obſcure. † It will ſhock Parliament to, &c.

CHARLES I. 1640.

With this money he can raiſe greater forces. If he do, they muſt ſtarve if kept there.

Earl Bridgwater.

Ceſſation of arms ſpecially in charge. If a ceſſation, it ſeems, it muſt be bought out.

He deſires to know what hoſtile acts have been done, ſince they came to Newcaſtle.

If this be a mean to ſhock the Parliament, it may be ſaid, the King hath taken all this money he took up, for enemies. It may be.

Lord Fauconbridge.

If his Majeſty do not keep them ſafe, they are all ruined.

The maintenance to keep them where they are. Ten thouſand pariſhes in England, hamlets, and towns.

Earl Huntingdon.

Not to give money. If other counties will do as my Lord Mowbray, &c. the King's army may keep them where they are.

Lord Cherbury †.

He cannot ſubſcribe to give any thing for a treaty. Never heard that a treaty was brought to recal diſbanded forces. And to ſpend the money in maintaining of forces, the city ‖ will take it ill their money is given to buy a treaty.

King.

Money to be raiſed neceſſarily, beſides a parliamentary way.

If you raiſe money to pay theſe rebels, it muſt be beſides Parliament.

Whether better to give rebels money, or to ſtop them?

Earl Briſtol.

Their frugality will go farther in paying an army. Forty thou-

† Herbert, the hiſtorian of Henry VIII.

‖ The city inclined to the Scotch on account of puritaniſm.

ſand

ſand pounds to be given them, and eighty thouſand pounds to maintain an army againſt them.

As much more to be allowed for the King's army, as for theirs.

A large body of the Scots will be brought together by this money, when the treaty is done.

Lord Keeper.

Things to be conſidered.

The honour and ſafety of the kingdom. Rather would periſh, than to give a penny, unleſs the kingdom be in danger.

Whether the King can make defence for the preſent, and that they do no more hurt.

If they would make reaſonable propoſition of their demands, then ſomething to be given; but to give this for a little talk of uncertainty. It ſhall be done by Parliament, and not by him.

King.

What advice they will give him, if they will give them no money?

Earl Northampton.

Two queſtions.

1. Whether any thing ſhall be given them.

2. Whether they will treat without it.

Lord Cherbury.

Neither army to ſtand on foot, but a great part to be retrenched. If they will not treat upon theſe terms, it will draw off their maſk.

To recal the diſmiſſed forces.

King.

To clear the report that ſaith, the King ſhould bid them ſtay there. It is cleared by the letter.

Lord Wharton.

The Lords took their demands, forty thouſand pounds, in ſuch indignation, that they would not give it an anſwer.

CHARLES I. 1640.

To debate whether we ſhall give them any thing at all, or not.

King.

That the Lords will adviſe whether they will give any thing, or nothing.

Earl Briſtol.

He conceives this not the point they are to ſpeak unto.

If you give them nothing, they will wholly ruin the provinces of Durham and Northumberland. Whether you will leave them there, to ruin thoſe provinces, if you give nothing?

Lord Saville.

They have eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; if this were propoſed, he thinks this would ſatisfy.

If you take this contribution off, you muſt give retribution.

King.

This contribution they have taken againſt our wills, ſhall we now allow it them willingly?

Whether we ſhall give them a voluntary contribution, or that they take it againſt our wills?

Earl Briſtol.

They have two great armies coming from Scotland.

King.

He propoſeth the queſtion again.

The queſtion is, whether to give them any thing, or remove them by force.

To conſider, whether thoſe of Durham and Northumberland, having committed no fault, ſhall be only puniſhed?

Earl Strafforde.

This demand hath opened our eyes. If his Majeſty had been believed, we had not been in this caſe.

Nothing of religion moves in this buſineſs,

CHARLES I. 1640.

They come in with a great army; which they had never done, if the city of London had done this they have done, ſix months ago. It was deſigned that an army ſhould have been upon the borders in July. They fortify Newcaſtle, therefore mean to ſtay; at Tinmouth, at Morpeth, they poſſeſs themſelves of coal. They now reinforce their army with three or four thouſand men from Scotland; the Earl of Argyle follows with ſo many more.

They cannot be removed this winter with an army of ſixty thouſand men.

They have advanced a thouſand men into Durham. He that now ſpeaks not, may be accounted an enemy.

For their demand is, either contribution or forty thouſand pounds a month.

It is plain that my Lords Commiſſioners have expreſſed as much care and judgment in their treaty, as may be.

To deliver any opinion, he joins with my *Lord Keeper* and *Briſtol*, to defer it until to-morrow.

The hints of councils to be taken from the affections of the people in England; if that be right.

The Londoners example hath much turned his opinion. No council ‡ to go up to the Scots now in this ſeaſon; but to make good as much as we have.

He hath applied himſelf more to ſome of the army than now he ſhall, in reſpect of want of money; but having money he means to take a ſhorter courſe for their diſcipline.

If the ſoldiers be rightly perſuaded * of the cauſe, he doubts not of our ſucceſs.

For the two counties †, it is not poſſible to relieve them, unleſs by paying forty thouſand pounds.

‡ Not adviſable. * That points at the diſaffection of the army.

† Northumberland and the Biſhopric of Durham.

If

CHARLES I. 1640.

If forty thouſand pounds a month had been lately demanded, for maintaining of the King's army, would any man have adviſed it to be done without a Parliament? And how then, this to the Scots?

No further danger likely, but to Weſtmorland and Cumberland.

Cumberland will raiſe an army, every fifth man to be maintained by four others.

Yet the Scots may move there with a part of their army.

It is out of their way to relieve their diſtreſſed brethren.

This, ſo mighty a buſineſs, both to the King, kingdom and ourſelves, would be maturely thought upon.

Concurs for deferring the debate until to-morrow.

Ordered, To be debated to-morrow, whether any thing ſhall be given.

York, Wedneſday, the 7th October. Forenoon.

His Majeſty preſent.

A printed pamphlet, *Of the lawfulneſs of the Scots expedition* into England, read.

Earl Briſtol.

This, a printed declaration, and therefore they will inſiſt upon it, according to their letter to the *Earl of Lanerick.*

Lord Keeper.

That the fourth clauſe may be read again, wherein are moſt railing and barbarous words againſt the Engliſh nation.

To the work of the day.

1. To debate the anſwer of their demands.
2. To remove the treaty here at York.

King.

Whether to debate the anſwer to their demands, before the Lords at Rippon be here?

For

For removing the treaty to York; he inclines to draw it hither.

Earl Briſtol.

To ſend a poſt to advertiſe the Lords at Rippon.

King.

The Scots, if they come hither, are to be required to bring power to treat and conclude, which now they have not.

Earl Briſtol.

A diſpatch to the Lords there*, to tell the Lords that the King commands them to come hither, and to tell the Scots Commiſſioners that they ſhall do well to ſend for power to treat.

King.

To inform the Lords there, that the treaty is likely to be drawn in length; therefore to tell the Scots plainly, that the King will have the treaty removed hither, and therefore command them to ſend for commiſſion to treat here.

Lord Saville.

To intimate to the Lords of Scotland, his Majeſty's reſolution of removing the treaty.

Earl of Briſtol and others of the Lords to draw a letter to the Lords at Rippon, as may appear, beginning Our very good Lords, &c.

The letter read and engroſſed.

Earl Briſtol

Makes repetition of words ſpoken the day before, concerning the ſupply of the city. And is cleared by the Lords to have ſpoken nothing but what he repeated.

King.

If any Lord ſpeak any thing in the houſe, to which exception is to be taken; it is preſently to be done, or elſe not afterward to be reported.

* At Rippon.

CHARLES I. 1640.

York, Friday, the 9th October, 1640. Afternoon.

The Scottiſh paper read, beginning, *Nothing is, &c.*

King.

They will have an anſwer to theſe preparatory demands, that they will not proceed without them.

Whether they will adviſe now, or ſtay 'till the reſt of the Lords that are abſent at Rippon?

If now, to enter into debate.

Lord Keeper.

Whether we ſhall now debate it in abſence of the Lords?

King

Deſires the Lords opinions, whether he ſhall ſend to the Lords at Rippon, to haſten hither.

Deſires the Earl of Bedford and Viſcount Mandeville to ſpeak.

Earl Bedford.

If he ſend to the Lords there, to ſignify to the Lords Commiſſioners of Scotland, that for the more mature debate and concluding of buſineſs, they are commanded to return to York, willing them to do the like.

Earl Huntingdon.

To ſend for the Lords at Rippon, but to let the Scots, being rebels, to know, that the Lords will not give them a penny.

King.

As ſoon as the transferring of the treaty from Rippon hither, be reſolved, to come away.

Earl Northampton.

If they will not condeſcend to come, to let them go to Newcaſtle, to know the minds of their commanders.

King.

That the Lords hath called his Commiſſioners hither, to conſult of an anſwer to their preparatories, and they to go to Newcaſtle.

Some

Some of the Lords to go, and to draw a letter to the Lords at Rippon.

Earl Strafforde.

Not to do the King that diſhonour, to let the world know that the King will do any thing they will.

Not to draw all the Lords from thence, and to leave the Scots there alone; but to let them treat, to know what they will require.

King.

To give them an anſwer; but whether they will do it without the Lords abſent, or not.

Earl Strafforde.

To anſwer, that the Lords have no power to grant any ſuch demand, without Parliament.

Earl Briſtol.

If the King will not give their army maintenance, to conſider whether they have not means in their hands to get themſelves maintenance, and may get two provinces more.

King.

The queſtion, whether they will give an anſwer before the Lords at Rippon return.

Earl Strafforde.

If you ſend for all away, the Scots will quarrel, which he will not give advice to do; but to grant them any diſhonourable terms, he will firſt die.

Lord Keeper.

To ſend a letter to-night to the Lords, to come to-morrow, and they return on Monday again to Rippon.

King.

If you ſend for the Lords, and tell them they ſhall have an anſwer at a certain day, they will thank you for it.

A letter to be written.

CHARELS I. 1640.

Earl Bridgwater.

All the Lords of opinion (as he conceiveth) to keep on the treaty.

Marquis of Hamilton

Deſires to know, to what end the letter intended, is to be written.

King.

Not to diſſolve the treaty by calling the Lords hither, but to let them know the neceſſity of their preſence.

Marquis of Hamilton.

It will give a great delay; the Scots will not be induced to ſtay, without the Lords.

Therefore to propound ſomething to ſatisfy them.

An anſwer to be given to as many of their demands, as the King and Lords ſhall think fit.

The reſt to be adviſed upon, and therefore they to be ſent back to Newcaſtle.

King.

Not reſolved what to ſay to their demands, but muſt take time to conſider.

Earl Strafforde.

Admit the Lords leave them; and they go away; whether it will ſhew well?

Earl Briſtol.

To ſee if the Lords there can induce the Scots to ſtay for an anſwer until Monday; and to leave ſome Lords there.

Earl Strafforde.

To conſider the time of Parliament; it will raiſe jealouſy, if it ſhould not be held.

A time muſt be to ſettle the army here, if it do not diſband.

A competent ſum, being uncertain, worſe than to demand in certain.

King.

King.

To adviſe whether they ſhall have their army maintained by our wills and advice, and then to reduce the ſum to as low as may be. The Scots will ſay, If you will give us nothing, you muſt not take it ill that we take our own courſe.

Earl Briſtol.

The buſineſs, how the Lords may come hither, and not to break the treaty.

The Lord Keeper, Earl Bedford, Earl Hertford, Briſtol, and Viſcount Mandeville, appointed to write the letters.

Theſe Lords read the letter, beginning, &c.

York, Sunday, the 11th October, 1640. Afternoon.

PRESENT,

The King's Majeſty, &c.

The letter from the Lords Commiſſioners, beginning *Upon the receipt,* &c. Dated at Rippon, the 10th of October, and

The Lords propoſition at Rippon, given to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners there, beginning *His Majeſty hath, &c.* read.

King

Requires the Lords advice.

Lord Cherbury.

Seeing a ſilence, he deſires to ſpeak.

No money coming from London, to be given.

If by any other means, he will not be averſe.

And continues his opinion given the other day.

Lord Maynard.

No anſwer to the main point of the Lords letter, that the Lords Commiſſioners at Rippon ſhould come hither to adviſe.

King.

CHARLES I. 1640.

King.

Though fit, yet not neceſſary, for they will concur with my Lords here.

Earl Hertford.

They ſtay, becauſe the Scots will take it ill, if they ſhould go away. Enough Lords here to debate.

King.

Inconveniencies of both ſides; as it may be diſhonourable to give; ſo to conſider how to ſave the ſpoil.

Earl Briſtol.

The ſtate of the queſtion now, whether it will be better to leave the Scots to their own way, or to treat of an accommodation, and that——

King.

Whether the army be maintained, a queſtion.

Earl Briſtol.

They have a great army, which is to be removed by force, or intreaty.

They will not ſtir: and a neceſſity that their army muſt be maintained.

King.

No neceſſity to lay that as a ground.

The queſtion may be otherwiſe put, whether we ſhall ſuffer them to do what they will, or to hinder them, either by force or otherwiſe?

Earl Briſtol.

The queſtion, whether they ſhall be left to their own ways, or way of accommodation?

A ſad conſultation.

He prays that the reſt of the abſent Lords may be preſent.

If he muſt give advice, he deſires to look over his notes, to——

King.

A kind of neceſſity for the Lords to give their advice, without thoſe at Rippon.

Firſt, it will delay time.

Next, it will break the treaty.

Earl Northampton.

He thinks it rather to break, than the Lords to be abſent.

To ſend our opinions to the Lords at Rippon, and they to ſend their advice.

Earl Briſtol.

The Commiſſioners here, to go to Rippon to the Lords there.

King.

If they go, the Lords there will incline to peace, if they find the Lords here inclined thereunto. But if the Lords here give their advice to let the Scots take their courſe, ſome of the Lords there will be of that opinion.

He moves, Whether to ſend for moſt of the Lords at Rippon?

Earl Briſtol.

The Scots are impatient to delay.

This buſineſs may be debated here.

King.

Let it be debated, and leave the poſitive reſolution till the Lords come.

*Earl Strafforde**

Deſirous the reſt of the Lords ſhould be here, to debate in a matter of ſo great conſequence, the univerſal peace of the kingdom, the honour and dignity of the Crown.

It were better the Lords were here. The only danger is the breach of the treaty. And would rather yield to punctilios than break the treaty.

* He differs with the King about the Lords coming.

If

CHARLES I. 1640.

If the Lords be ſent for now, they may be here to-morrow, to debate the matter to-morrow in the afternoon. The Scots may have an anſwer on Tueſday morning. And if they will not allow the King one day for a reſolution, their haſte is very great.

To ſignify to the Scots, that they will ſtay until Tueſday morning; and to ſend ſome young Lords to them there.

King.

Whether it ſhall be at Rippon?

Earl Hertford.

They will be content to ſtay at Rippon for one day.

The whole Council agrees that the treaty ſhall continue at Rippon.

Earl Briſtol.

Two or three Lords to continue there with the Scots at Rippon, and the reſt to come hither to debate.

A letter to be written from York, to this effect, That the King is content to have the treaty continue at Rippon, and that, for the better expediting of the anſwer, the reſt of the Lords may come hither.

Lord Cherbury.

He is of opinion, for the King to get time; and the progreſs will be made impoſſible.

To ſend and ſee what fortifications are made upon the river of Tees.

To ſend to ſee the fords, whether paſſable at this time of the year.

King.

To ſpeak this to-morrow in full Council, being very pertinent; viz. to know what ſecurity we ſhall have, that our going will hinder the plundering of the counties. He is ill uſed on both ſides. The Scots owe him no good will. Others here regret that he hath no care of his people of Northumberland, &c. but that they may be plundered.

Lord

Lord Keeper.

It will not be long ere the people will be rightly informed of his Majeſty's care and good affections *.

Earl of Briſtol came and read the letter to the Lords Commiſſioners at Rippon, which was engroſſed, beginning, *We have received*, &c.

Signed by HERTFORD.
BRISTOL.
WHARTON.

York, 11th October 1640.

To the Right Hon. our very good Lords, the Lords Commiſſioners remaining at Rippon. Sent by Mr. Dias to the poſt, to be ſent away ſpeedily. Delivered at four o'clock in the afternoon.

York, Monday, 12th October, 1640. Afternoon.

PRESENT,

The King's Majeſty, &c.

The remonſtrance preparative read, of 10th of October.

The paper of remonſtrance to the Commiſſioners read, which was delivered me by the Lord Mandeville this day; beginning, *If the King's Majeſty*, &c.

Sir William Witherington called in, and made a relation as ſent with the King's letter of ſafe-conduct. He demanded the like ſafe-conduct for our men as the King had granted to theirs.

They ſay the ſafe-conduct now ſent was not ſo large as the Secretary promiſed.

Deſired to know whether he might ſend the King's packet to Berwick.

They take it into conſideration; and, at laſt, are content to let it paſs, for that particular; but for others hereafter, they would farther deliberate.

* *i. e.* by the calling a Parliament.

CHARLES I. 1640.

King

Deſires the Lords to enter in debate of the buſineſs for the day.

Earl Northampton

Takes the paper, and deſires that every man, upon the paper, may give his opinion clearly. For him, he neither can nor dare anſwer to the Parliament, if he gave the Scots aſſiſtance.

Lord Cherbury.

The Scots having paſſed two rivers, the Tyne and the Tweed: now to ſend to view the fortifications upon the river of Tees, and ſo to put himſelf in a way of defence.

None of the two hundred thouſand pounds gotten from London to be given to the Scots.

Yet conſidering their neceſſity to be ſupplied, or go on, to ſupply them with victuals from the adjacent ſhires, ſeeing they promiſe to pay, or give ſecurity.

That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to take into ſerious conſideration what to anſwer them.

Some things they aſk as of right, ſomething by way of grace.

He would have matters of grace.

King.

They demand theſe things of neceſſity, as the treaty cannot go on without it.

Whether a way may not be found to determine altogether?

None of the Lords will adviſe to give any of the money lent by the city to the Scots.

The King doth the city right, in clearing them of hardneſs of lending; for they did not deſire his jewels to be pawned, but only the ſecurity of the Lords there.

Earl Strafforde.

The river of Tees ſo fordable betwixt Croft-bridge, and no way to keep them from paſſing the Tees, but with an army.

State

State of the queſtion, whether the King ſhall give his conſent to give forty thouſand pounds or a competency, before there be any treaty?

Earl Briſtol.

State of the queſtion, whether it ſhould be maintained by ſuch means as the Scots ſhould find out, or whether forty thouſand pounds, or a competency, ſhall be allowed them by way of accommodation? Then to think how the accommodation may be made.

Archbiſhop of York.

What obligation the Scots have upon the King to make their demand?

Earl Briſtol.

Their army of neceſſity muſt be maintained by their force, or by accommodation.

Earl Monmouth.

He aſked Sir Thomas Riddle, whether Northumberland and Newcaſtle, would furniſh the Scots?

Biſhop of Durham.

We are now in treaty. This a door and a bar to all treaty.

Earl Bridgwater.

He finds the buſineſs ſtrange, and unleſs the paper may be unriddled, he cannot tell what to ſay.

This paper, and Sir William Witherington's relation, makes him doubtful.

If a good pacification, he will deſire it as much as any.

If he could ſee their real intentions, he would go as faſt towards them as any.

The King hath given anſwer to former petitions.

They have now gotten ſtrength.

Of opinion that their army ſhould be maintained; but deſires to know, if they take advantage by their ſtrength; he commends their policy, but not their loyalty.

CHARLES I. 1640.

The main queſtion, whether to give or no?

If reſolve to give, more queſtions will ariſe, what, and how to give?

If they have told the Lords Commiſſioners what they will have, it will open our eyes. But when, he thinks will be a great queſtion, and of the how, likewiſe. The when will be dangerous previous to a Parliament.

How, it will be aſked hither, *contra* or *præter*.

Lord Saville.

The Scots Commiſſioners do ſay they have ſtayed ſo long, as they are able to ſubſiſt no longer.

They deſire to know, whether they ſhall uſe their power, or be accommodated?

Earl Briſtol.

Whether they to uſe their power, or whether by treaty, accommodation ſome way may be found?

Inconveniencies to be conſidered of, either of theſe, and on both ſides.

If you leave them to their own way,

1. They may plunder Northumberland and Durham; and at leaſt here, as much in their power to take.

2. Cumberland and Weſtmorland, Carliſle and Berwick run a hazard.

It is impoſſible to defend thoſe parts.

They will come on hither into Yorkſhire after.

The King hath a hundred to one at the ſtake.

If the King receive a blow, this province of York will be loſt; and much more hazarded.

The counties of Northumberland, &c. will come to accommodation, if abandoned, and much diſheartened.

Therefore, whether the inconveniencies on the other ſide be greater? and deſires ſome of the Lords to argue that part.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Earl Strafforde.

He did ſay, that nothing can hinder them from coming to this city, but fighting, for they——But this city, with the King's army, may make good the city.

Lord Maynard.

He ſtates the queſtion. He reads it thus.

Whether this great and honourable body ſhall adviſe to allow the Scots any maintenance, being in arms and rebels?

The giving them any thing, a hard morſel to digeſt by any Engliſhman.

And knows not how to adviſe to give, without aſſent of Parliament.

It will be as hard for Northumberland and Durham, when they have given, as now.

The example dangerous, for rebels to move for getting of money to be ſtill.

It will make them the more ſtubborn in the treaty itſelf.

The dangers of bringing the ſouthern trained bands to Newcaſtle, until the kingdom be better ſettled.

His opinion is, that not by our advice to give, but of his Majeſty's goodneſs, to give ſome to the Scots, until the day after the Parliament.

It may come from the provinces already poſſeſſed.

Earl Dover.

To go ſhortly to the buſineſs.

Earl Monmouth.

Firſt, Whether to give or not.

King.

Whether we ſhall find a mean to relieve the counties oppreſſed, or to leave them to their fortune?

Earl Hertford.

To bring all in one, but how we can.

King.

CHARLES I. 1640.

King.

If the way be ſafe and honourable, let us do it; if not, let us not do it.

Lord Cherbury.

That armies may be diſbanded on both ſides; then a ſmall competency may ſerve.

This to be moved to the Scots firſt.

King.

My Lord of Briſtol, put well the inconveniencies on one ſide. What we ſhall give them.

Their army is ſaid to be thirty thouſand men, though not half ſo many.

We give only to eaſe the people in bondage. What ſecurity, if we give, they ſhall not be ſo ſtill?

Now live from hand to mouth; if we give, they may live three or four months; and——

Their laſt papers are more inſolent than the firſt.

Not to give out of London money.

How can you lay an impoſition upon the counties? He would be loth to do it for himſelf.

Deſires ſome to propoſe the ways, and then to conſider the inconveniencies.

Lord Wharton.

They will not get advantage by time.

Their army increaſeth, and you know not what to give.

King.

He ſhews another inconveniency.

If we break the leaſt of the agreement, cauſe of a quarrel.

Lord Wharton.

1. If we give till the Parliament take a courſe, we ſhall gain by time.

2. It

2. It will be convenient for the oppreſſed counties to free them from preſent plundering.

King.

Nothing to be done without a Parliament, for uniting the affections of the people.

To ſend the rebels word, that they would do nothing but with a Parliament.

Whether you would have this treaty to be put to an end before a Parliament?

Lord Saville.

If the King give them all they require, they deſire ſomething which muſt be ended by Parliament.

King.

They deſire delays, being well.

But what is fit for us to do? Whether to break the treaty until the Parliament?

Lord Mandeville.

It is not for the honour and ſafety of the King to make an accommodation.

Earl Briſtol.

To go back to the buſineſs of the day.

Whether to think of an accommodation?

Next, what that ſhall be?

They will willingly ſtay here ſtill.

It is no buying a treaty, to give them maintenance during their treaty.

He propounds, if there be a deſire to an accommodation, not to pitch upon this or that particular, but to leave it to the Lords Commiſſioners to ſee the ways to an accommodation. That the opening of trade, markets, &c. may be propoſed, to help it on.

Lord Keeper.

1. Queſtion, whether fit and honourable to have an accommodation, or not?

2. Inconveniencies

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2. Inconveniencies mentioned by my Lord Briſtol, of loſing the counties, &c.

3. What good ſhall be gotten by giving, but only to come to a treaty?

4. If they agree of an accommodation, they are to ſecure Northumberland and Durham from ſpoil.

The people of England will ſee their intention, if they plunder Northumberland, &c.

Whether this treaty ſhall not receive accompliſhment before Parliament?

His opinion is, it ought. His reaſon,

If there be an accompliſhment, it will be a fair way made to the Parliament to judge of the ſtate of the buſineſs.

He will never adviſe the Lords to impoſe upon the country. If by a voluntary contribution, it muſt be done by the counties that groan under the burthen.

Not to adviſe to break the two hundred thouſand pounds of London.

To propoſe theſe things to the counties.

Earl Strafforde.

Hardly an end to-night, if it be drawn out in length.

He makes a proteſtation of the faith of a Gentleman, that he hath heard ſomething ſince he came into this houſe, which makes him ſpeak.

He will not admit of the neceſſity of maintaining them.

They may well maintain themſelves, without contribution, or plundering the country; if they are ſo good as their books make them.

They may have proviſions from their own country, and leſſen their army. Trade and ports will be opened.

Therefore no neceſſity; and they are obliged by their declaration to maintain themſelves.

Other

Other argument;

By this means Northumberland, &c. will be ſaved from plundering.

Anſwer. As ſoon as this treaty ends, they will be in the firſt eſtate; and this only frees them for a time.

You furniſh them with money and neceſſaries. You give them countenance that what they do, they well do.

He deſires, if to give, to give for once for all; and to ſee the bottom of the buſineſs; nothing more neceſſary than to have this known.

This is ſure, after they have gotten this contribution, the counties of Northumberland, &c. will be in as ill ſtate as they now are in, after the treaty.

They ſay the King ſhall gain by the delay of the treaty.

He is altogether of another opinion; for it hinders us to know the bottom of the buſineſs.

Nothing more ſafe, than for the people of England to unite in heart and affection, which they cannot do unleſs they ſee the bottom of the buſineſs. Another diſadvantage by delay. The vaſt charge of the army here. They will require more for theirs in the concluſion.

The king loſes in honour abroad.

Beſides, if you make no end of the treaty, will you treat this buſineſs at London, which will continue the charge of the country?

Whatſoever they have to ſay, let them ſay it in a Parliament, and all they can againſt him.

Therefore, their neceſſity no ground. The contribution no end. We know not, what they will in the end have.

It doth not preſerve Northumberland, &c.

Nothing ſo dangerous to your perſon and kingdom as to give.

They cannot march with the groſs of their army hither, this winter. Many inconveniencies.

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Examples muſt be conſidered to be of like danger.

It is diſhonourable in itſelf for the King to buy a ceſſation of arms from his ſubjects; though it may be done for avoiding greater inconveniencies.

The ſubjects of England now taking themſelves to ſerve the King with affection, he ſees no reaſon but we may make good our own.

If you reſolve to give it, he ſees no poſſibility how to pay it, or raiſe it.

He knows no ways; the two hundred thouſand pounds being not to be touched.

He will deliver no opinion poſitively. Yet he is not convinced hitherto, to perſuade him to give.

Lord Cherbury.

He will be ſorry to have delay of time miſconſtrued.

Lord Mandeville.

He conceives my Lord Strafforde to be miſtaken in the neceſſity, whether true or pretended. They pretend to be delayed. To conſider whether to give or not.

More for the honour and ſafety of the King to come to an accommodation.

Earl Strafforde.

A great difference betwixt a pretended and real neceſſity. He thinks theirs pretended.

He wiſhed he had had my Lords acquieſcence to deviſe means for maintenance of his Majeſty's army.

King.

Whether the Lords will let them go on their own way of length in the treaty?

Propoſes to give a particular anſwer to every one of their demands; and to give them an anſwer to this, and both together.

Lord Saville.

They deſire not the King to find out the way how to raiſe it; but whether the King will leave them to plunder what they can;

can; for they eſteem the four counties worth 200,000 l. which is in their power.

The Lords may eaſily ſave all, if they will ſet their hearts and hands to it.

Lord Wharton.

Nothing can be more gainful to his Majeſty, than gaining the affection of his people in Parliament.

King.

To haſten this buſineſs, becauſe of the Parliament.

To ſettle the buſineſs, and then go to the grievances.

Earl Briſtol.

To ſtate the queſtion fully to-morrow morning at eight, and then to debate it, without diverſion to other buſineſs.

Tueſday, 13th October. Forenoon.

PRESENT, the King's Majeſty, &c.

Earl of Berkſhire.

The Scots Commiſſioners require their compoſition to begin from the firſt day of the treaty. So they explained it to him.

King.

To take it by the way of admiſſion, though not reſolved, that their army is to be relieved; but to be done with honour, ſafety and commodity.

Lord Mandeville

Offers that the counties now under their power, may be ſpoken withal, to ſee what they will do.

Earl Hertford

Agrees to that motion, and to ſee what the adjacent ſhires will do.

Earl Berkſhire.

He concurs. Let the garriſons of Berwick and Carliſle be victualled from Scotland, and it will be a great encouragement.

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Biſhop of Durham.

Thoſe of the Biſhopric are divided among themſelves, ſome for war, and ſome for peace.

1. How honourable for the King to grant?

2. Competency, what?

3. How this competency ſhall be had?

4. How the countries ſhall be eaſy and ſecured, when they have given?

To the firſt, they propoſe the contribution to be for the maintenance of their army.

To give a competency, not againſt honour.

To leſſen their army.

To have proviſions from Scotland.

To have it of the money of London.

London looks only to have it repaid at the day.

The Parliament will allow of what the Lords do.

This giving will be thought to be but a reprieve of the oppreſſed inhabitants; proceeds but from one mouth, and that ſpeaking raſhly. If they plunder after, worſe than Turks.

Earl Berkſhire.

If the four ſhires do agree to give, and they afterwards plunder, the whole kingdom will riſe and oppoſe.

King.

The rebels aſk what the King and Lords will give? And then, for the ſhires to give it, they will think it no anſwer. To think of a fitting anſwer, and then to reſolve it.

Earl Dover.

They have declared that we ſhould find out the means; and if we think it fit, the ſhires adjacent ſhould do it, it is ſufficient.

Earl Hertford.

They do not deſire it of the King and Peers.

King

King.

They are cunning; and though this be right, yet they will find *eſchapatoires.*

Earl Berkſhire.

They forced to furniſh the garriſons of Berwick and Carliſle, out of Scotland.

Lord Cherbury

Excuſes his late coming.

He hopes to find a means to anſwer the Scots Lords. He deſires to read his paper.

Lord Keeper.

It is not allowed in Parliament and Great Council to read their own papers: It is Parliament, and therefore locutory; and ſo concluded and reſolved by the houſe, that no man ſhould read his propoſition out of paper.

King.

My Lord Monmouth hath moved that this will require a time to conclude with the ſhires, and how this ſhall be found poſſible.

As we ſend to the ſhires to treat with them, ſo they to go on with the treaty. For Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, is a new propoſition to them.

If we leave the Scots to treat with the country, will they go on with the treaty?

Lord Saville.

They will treat though you deny them a competency, and enter a proteſtation.

King.

If your Lordſhips will declare them to be enemies, if they will not treat until they have a competency, and being left to treat with the counties, I care not what they will do.

Earl Briſtol.

They will treat though you give them denial. But then they will take their own courſes; which, conſiderable how dangerous.

Lord

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Lord Clifford.

No man will undertake for Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, until the gentry be preſent; and that will require time.

Earl Strafforde.

He reads the laſt paper. It ſeems by the papers that they will not treat, unleſs a competency be ſettled.

Earl Berkſhire.

If we offer them reaſon, and they will not accept, to break off the treaty and come away.

King

Deſires them to take a reſolution.

To conſider if there be any other way.

Earl Strafforde.

Some other ways have been propounded; therefore to take them into conſideration.

Earl Berkſhire.

To furniſh the garriſons of Carliſle and Berwick.

Lord Brooke.

To open the ports, and ways from Scotland.

King.

To open the ports is of more conſequence than appears at firſt, for rivetting them faſt in Newcaſtle; but to open the ways from Scotland, he allows.

Lord Cherbury.

The leſſening of their army; the allowing of them certain pinnaces to bring proviſions from Scotland, and no other to paſs.

Lord Brooke *.

Of leſſening their army, they will not yield unto it; for ſo they have expreſſed themſelves.

Earl Briſtol.

He diſlikes the ſecurity of a foreign great army in the kingdom.

* This Lord a thorough oppoſer, and in correſpondence with the Scots.

Mr. Treaſurer.

He would be loth to ſee ſo great an army left in England, as might make an invaſion.

Without a competency, the papers ſay, they cannot treat.

Reſolve, if it be poſſible, not to break the treaty.

If the power of treating of a competency be allowed to the Commiſſioners, it will turn upon the Scots to break or go on.

The way propounded, to have it from the four near ſhires, Northumberland, &c. Next opening the ports and paſſages. To leſſen their army.

To conſider, by the Commiſſioners upon the place, by treaty with the gentlemen of thoſe counties.

In all caſes of diſhonour, a leſs and a more.

It is not the King's caſe only, but all Kings of Chriſtendom, to fall into theſe ſtraights; and have thought it no diſhonour to give great ſums of money; as in France, at Montpelier, &c.

Time only muſt give a good iſſue to his Majeſty's affairs.

If carried to the Parliament, it will unmaſk them.

Lord Keeper.

The maintenance of their army they ſtand upon, but will treat though it be not granted.

All propoſitions lead to the ſame end.

The way of a commutation, they, to furniſh Berwick and Carliſle, and we them, honourable and ſafe. Opening of the ports very conſiderable; but as propounded, with a few ſhips, it will neither be unſafe or incommode.

To treat with the four ſhires will require time, but not ſo much as is feared. If the Lords Commiſſioners make the counties know, that the Lords will preſent it to the Parliament, that they have been the bulwarks. And as for Yorkſhire, he doubts not but this declaration of the Lords will quicken them. And to have power to treat with the ſhires further, and to leave it in truſt with the Lords, to conclude the ſum.

If

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If the Scots take it, they to tell them they will take order to levy ſpeedily; but then to think fit to propoſe to go on with the treaty, if they will not let them chuſe.

King.

To put a ſtop and limits that they ſhall go no farther. In caſe they ſhould not treat of any thing, until this competency be agreed, what will you do?

Earl Strafforde.

If this be the only thing to be propounded, he will offer his opinion.

Nothing elſe as yet thought on.

Never any King came more clearly to a Council.

He proteſts that the King never declared his opinion to * * *

So ſay all the Lords.

And all thank the King for ſo great a truſt.

He will not willingly break the treaty.

He deſires the accommodation may go with as much honour.

It is fitter to be done by the King's ſervants than himſelf.

He would not adviſe to draw in Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, if it may be done without it, for all England is equally engaged.

He adviſes that the two counties of Northumberland, and Durham, and Newcaſtle, continue the contribution, upon promiſe to repreſent it to the parliament.

They have no reaſon but to comply to their own contribution of 700l. a day; which will amount to 20,000l. a month.

It will be no long time.

The difficulty, how to raiſe the money.

The counties not able to continue it, or to live under it.

No great difficulty if this contribution be continued, for maintaining their army.

It is the counties of Northumberland and Carliſle's own act, and ſo cannot complain of the Lords.

If

If this cannot be done,

He will not perſuade to break the treaty, but then to take the courſes propounded.

It comes to 850l. with 200l. of Newcaſtle.

They ſay Newcaſtle is 4000l. behind.

Mr. Treaſurer.

They made a compoſition of 350l. a day in the Biſhopric, but they are behind, and not able to pay it. So Newcaſtle. So for Northumberland, who are all behind-hand in payment. If they cannot pay it, to leave a latitude to the Lords to call in the other counties.

Earl Strafforde.

Cumberland and Weſtmoreland will afford very little help.

Lord Fauconbridge.

The compoſition to be taken rather in proviſion than in money.

Earl Strafforde.

If they pay in their compoſition in proviſion, they are able.

King.

This left to the power of the Commiſſioners.

But what if the Scots will not accept of this, or go on in the treaty till all things be ſettled? To think of what to ſay.

Lord Cherbury.

Firſt, to reduce their army to a leſs number.

If this be not condeſcended to, then to draw the King's army towards Durham, and fortify.

Earl Briſtol.

To reſolve to ſend a letter to the Lords at Rippon, to let them know, that this day they are in a way to give them a competency, and to-morrow the Lords ſhall return.

King.

To reſolve what to do, and not to delay. For they will not go on in the treaty without.

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Earl Berkſhire.

To ſend the Lords word, and to-morrow the Lords will be there with poſitive reſolution to conclude.

King.

What if they will not treat unleſs their compoſition be ſettled? This to be debated. It may be debated, but cannot come to a reſolution; for ſomething upon the place may alter the caſe.

It is fit to arm ourſelves with as many arguments and reaſons as we can.

Queſtion to be debated,

Whether, in caſe they will not enter into a treaty, before their compoſition be ſettled and ſecured, what ſhall be the anſwer?

Archbiſhop of York.

If they ſhall ſay that Northumberland and Berwick are ſo poor, as they are not able to pay, and they will not truſt to it; what to ſay?

Earl Strafforde.

Speaking of 40,000l. it was ſaid yeſterday, that Northumberland and Berwick were worth twelve times as much.

Earl Briſtol.

The parties, if they ſee the danger, will diſcover more than yet is known of their eſtates. The treaty with the gentlemen, to be left to the diſcretion of the gentlemen.

Lord Gray.

More money in Newcaſtle than in theſe two counties. The adjacent ſhires will aſſiſt, upon promiſe of repayment.

Lord Keeper.

The matter left to the Commiſſioners of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland.

Earl Briſtol.

Preſuppoſe the delays to be effectual delay, and ſo judged by the Commiſſioners; whether they ſhall break the treaty?

Though they do delay, yet the Lords to agree not to break the treaty; but to declare their opinion unto them.

King.

If they refuſe that which is reaſonable; what the Lords will adviſe?

Earl Strafforde.

The Lords will poſitively conclude or refuſe nothing, but that firſt, they will advertiſe his Majeſty; and therefore wholly to be left to their diſcretion.

Whether you include the arrear in the treaty; which they will ſtand upon?

He will not at any hand adviſe not to hold the day of the Parliament.

Earl Hertford.

They expect the contribution from the time of the treaty.

Earl Berks.

They expect all arrears ſince the *compoſition made*; and they ſaid ſo in expreſs words.

Earl Briſtol.

They will require the arrear.

King.

Do your Lordſhips expect that they will come to treat without ſettling the compoſition?

Earl Briſtol.

He conceives they will be as willing to treat as we, if they find the compoſition in a forwardneſs.

Lord Saville.

The counties will demand how long the contribution ſhall laſt, and when it ſhall end.

They look for aſſurance of amity from the whole kingdom; and till then, the compoſition is likely to laſt.

Lord Keeper.

If they ſhall expect it ſo long, it is the unſafeſt thing in the world to grant it.

CHARLES I. 1640.

But ſo long, till the treaty holds.

Earl Hertford.

They may have Newcaſtle and Durham to them, with a garriſon, until all things be ſettled.

Lord Paget.

They ſay they will not ſtir, until they have an aſſurance from Parliament, of their demands.

Lord Keeper.

To begin from the beginning of the treaty, being about ten days ago. It is three weeks to the Parliament; the debate in Parliament will require a month; which work two months.

Earl Briſtol.

Left to the commiſſioners to ſpeak of them.

King.

They take reſolutions upon us, by preſuppoſition, and ſtand to it. Why we ſhould not do the like; and tell them that we will go on to find the compoſition; and that they, in the mean time, to go on with the treaty.

The Earl of Briſtol to make a letter to the Lords at Rippon, to let them know, that the Lords ſhall be with them to-morrow, with anſwer and poſitive reſolution and full powers.

13th October, 1640. *Afternoon.*

His Majeſty preſent, &c.

The ſuitors of the Biſhopric and counties, to attend the Lords Commiſſioners at Rippon, concerning their grievances, to-morrow in the afternoon.

King.

This afternoon appointed for drawing inſtructions to the Lords Commiſſioners. He conceives the inſtructions to be in general.

Lord

Lord Keeper.

It is conceived the inſtructions not to be in writing, but to be left unto diſcretion.

Earl Hertford.

He thinks it fit to have their inſtructions in writing; but in general, as hath been formerly; and the Commiſſioners to have a latitude.

Earl Berks.

The King ſecure, for they will report.

King.

He deſires that they would do as much as may be, without giving an account.

Earl Berks.

He is confident before Monday, to give a particular account of all; and that there will be a concluſion.

King

Expects an end before the Parliament, or their advice what to do.

Lord Keeper.

Heads of inſtructions.

1. Left to my Lords, of relieving the counties under contribution, and ſubject to plundering, by ſome competent allowance.

2. For the better accommodation, Berwick and Carliſle to be victualled out of Scotland, as we victual their army.

3. The opening of the paſſages between Newcaſtle and Scotland, by land.

4. That ſome pinnaces, more or leſs, according to the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners, may be allowed to paſs with victuals, only for their ſupply.

It will be fit to put the Scots in mind of the detriment the King ſuffers in his cuſtom for coals.

King.

CHARLES I. 1640.

King.

Whether any ſhips before Newcaſtle?

Mr. Treaſurer.

Two pinnaces and a ſhip upon the coaſt, and about the mouth of Humber.

Forty thouſand pounds a year went out of Newcaſtle to the King for coals. The Commiſſioners to take conſideration of the coal.

The Pinnaces to take order that the coals may be carried to no places but in this kingdom.

That ſome Lords may be appointed to draw inſtructions.

Earl Briſtol.

If the King give abſolute power; the Lords truſted will have care to conclude nothing; but will report.

No inſtructions in writing; but only the heads and remembrances for the Lords; and the reſt to be referred to the diſcretion of the Lords.

Lord Keeper, Lord Hertford, Lord Briſtol, Mr. Secretary, are appointed Committees to draw remembrances for inſtructing of the Commiſſioners.

Ordered, That Mr. Secretary Vane, ſhall accompany the Commiſſioners to Rippon.

Three papers read, viz. *Grievances. Letter of my Lord of Manchester*, of the ſucceſs of their treaty in London, read, dated the 11th of October.

King.

Many of my Lords have made ſuit to go to London.

Their reaſons, law-ſuits.

To conſider means for their indemnity.

Ordered. Reſolved, all ſhall ſtay.

Lord Keeper.

He will write to the Judges, for any Lord, to ſurceaſe proſecution againſt them.

Remembrances

Remembrances aforeſaid, read, and ordered to be engroſſed the 13th of October, beginning *Remembrances for my Lords the Commiſſioners.* CHARLES I. 1640.

York, 17th of October. Saturday Afternoon.

His Majeſty preſent, &c.

The four papers delivered on both ſides at Rippon, the 16th of October, read.

Earl Briſtol.

That the Lord Lieutenant, or ſome other, in abſence of the Lords going to Parliament, may take care of the ſecuring the eight hundred and fifty pounds *per diem.*

King.

If they look for abſolute ſecurity, it will be impoſſible.

Earl Strafforde.

He deſires to be excuſed, and that he may not meddle with their ſecurity.

He is declared to be their common enemy.

My Lord Saville and Lord Wharton, acquainted with all the treaty, therefore they fit to do it.

Earl Briſtol.

He did not name my Lord Lieutenant to put any trouble upon him. But being Lord Preſident of the North, to take it into his care.

Earl Strafforde.

He takes nothing amiſs of my Lord of Briſtol; but to meddle or overſee it, he is not ſo fit as thoſe that have been acquainted with it.

Earl Briſtol.

Any Lords may be appointed; ſo the buſineſs is done.

King.

The Lords to name certain gentlemen at Rippon.

Earl

CHARLES I. 1640.

Earl Strafforde.

While he is Lieutenant-General of the army, he will never be drawn to be an inſtrument of giving contribution to them.

King.

The thing may be well done otherwiſe.

Earl Briſtol.

The Scots ſay their army is in great neceſſity. If they truſt to this, and they fail, neceſſity will inforce them to do what they would not; therefore, if promiſed, it muſt be performed.

Lord Cherbury.

None better to undertake this, but ſuch as live in the country, and by commiſſion.

Earl Briſtol.

Not fit, that this be done by commiſſion.

They ſeem to be very willing for the firſt month.

King.

To deſire the Lords Commiſſioners to do it at Rippon.

Some of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland willing to come into contribution, as he heareth.

Biſhop of Durham.

The country holds it a burthen intolerable, unleſs Cumberland and Weſtmoreland do come in.

Earl Briſtol.

That the Biſhop of Durham, Lord Grey, and other, of theſe counties, that remain at York, do take care.

Lord Mandeville.

They * will not enter into the treaty, but ſecurity being given.

Earl Briſtol.

A letter to be drawn for encouragement of counties to come in.

The counties under contribution to be recommended to the Parliament.

* The Scots.

Earl

Earl Holland.

They will rather lend two hundred pounds, than loſe a thouſand pounds.

Biſhop of Durham.

He deſires aſſiſtance of ſome Lords.

Earl Briſtol

Names Lord Grey, Lord Clifford, Lord Mowbray.

Earl Holland.

They will join with the great men of that country, Lord Grey, Earl Newcaſtle.

King.

The city having condeſcended to two hundred thouſand pounds, do now go ſlowly on.

That they would write a ſecond letter to the city, to go on with their contribution.

Earl Strafforde.

All his care is, for the maintenance of the King's army.

All the army out of pay. Twenty thouſand pounds come in, that's all.

A fortnight's pay due to thoſe that took up victuals, for which he gave credit.

The reſt of the fifty thouſand pounds lent, not to come in until the 30th of this month.

As much reaſon the King's army ſhould be maintained as theirs.

A letter from London, mentioning, that upon the lending of the city, the King's countenance changed from following or hearkening to the Lords' counſel.

He deſires they will think how the King's army may be provided for, now they have ſettled the buſineſs for the Scots.

King.

He hath heard theſe reports ſeveral ways, and refers himſelf to the Lords, whether true.

CHARLES I. 1640.

He desires two Lords may be sent to the city.

Earl Bristol

Moves, my Lord Keeper, and another, to be sent.

King.

The Lord Keeper is his particular servant, and not so fit to be sent.

Resolved, The letter shall be drawn to-morrow, and then, all the Lords, both here, and at Rippon, to sign it.

Some to be nominated to draw it,

Lord Keeper nominated.

Earl Strafforde.

He desires to know what will give content to the Scots subjects.

The Lords at Rippon to bring the Scots to their full demands; and to perfection.

Earl Bristol.

Things are to go on by degrees; until this maintenance agreed, they would not treat.

Lord Mandeville.

They desire to have it under our hands.

Earl Bristol.

If we give them the words of so honourable persons, they will not stick for one day or two; but this must be really meant.

They protest to be forward for peace.

Earl Strafforde.

He desires again that provision be made for the King's army.

MEMORANDUM:

My Lord Bristol hath the original additional instructions of the King, dated the 15th of October.

York,

York, Sunday, 18th October, 1640. Afternoon.

His Majeſty preſent.

Earl Briſtol.

A letter to be drawn to the gentlemen of the counties to encourage them to enter into ſecurity.

Some Lords here to be joined to adviſe with the gentlemen of the counties, for giving ſecurity.

The gentlemen of the counties doubt not but to find ſome Lords to treat with the gentlemen: viz. Lord Keeper, Lord Clare, Biſhop of Durham, Lord Grey, Lord Mowbray, Lord Clifford, to ſettle the ſecurity.

Earl Hertford.

The gentlemen to be preſently conferred withal.

They were ſent for. But in the mean time, the Lord Keeper reads the letter drawn to the city, from the Peers, beginning, *After our hearty commendations*, &c.

Earl Strafforde.

It is not the lending of 200,000l. will ſerve the turn, unleſs it come in time. Therefore, this to be expreſſed in the letter, that they may do it in time. If they pay not their money more timely, it will be to no purpoſe.

If they pay not the 50,000l. and after, the reſt, as was propounded, it is to no purpoſe.

Earl Briſtol.

He hath heard from London, the Commiſſioners, as moſt for the Scots army.

The Scots ſay, they are in ſuch neceſſity, that, if not ſupplied, they muſt plunder this, and other counties. We have conſideration of the Engliſh, not of the Scots army, as the caſe ſtands.

Earl Strafforde.

So long as he hath the command of the army, and not two days proviſion for them, he muſt repreſent it.

The Councils will be juſtified, and the Counſellors.

CHARLES I. 1640.

He hath ſerved faithfully, and will juſtify himſelf.

Earl Briſtol.

He never ſpake any thing againſt the Lord Strafforde; he is an able man.

A great army in Ireland,
A great army at ſea. } Nothing done.

The matter of fact is, that Northumberland, &c. are uſed as they liſt, as if they were not of the cloth.

Earl Strafforde.

He that judges by the event doth not judge *ſuper totam materiam*; the armies of Ireland and at ſea, have miſcarried, not by fault of the Miniſters.

King.

To haſten the money from London; which is the main buſineſs of the day.

Marquis of Hamilton.

To mention in the letters, the days required for payment.

Earl Strafforde.

He will bring 8000 foot, 2000 horſe, at two days warning, and ſixty cannon, if there be ſhipping to convey them *.

Earl Briſtol.

He lays no imputation. Lord Strafforde has given a good account of his government.

Marquis of Hamilton.

He had no meddling with the men ſpoken of, by ſea, until they were delivered to him on ſhipboard.

The gentlemen of the counties came in to confer about the ſecurity.

Earl Briſtol.

The King and Peers are deſirous to give you all eaſe †.

The Scots pretending neceſſity two ways,

* This muſt be from Ireland.

† This was addreſſed to the gentlemen of Northumberland and Durham.

1. Either

CHARLES I. 1640.

1. Either to take all they can;

2. Or to come to a competency, which they formerly agreed upon, 850l. per diem.

It was your desire to have it done by way of accommodation.

You shewed hopes to be able to secure the payment.

If you shall do it, the King and Lords will recommend it to the Parliament to give them ease.

They have for this, better security than formerly from the Scots.

That for punctual performance of things promised, the King will provide some Lords may confer with you.

That they will declare their abilities, and the best ways to help them.

Sir William Bellasis.

They are doubtful of their abilities to perform, in the condition they are in.

They desired letters into the county to understand their ability.

They will attend the Lords, and give them the best satisfaction.

Earl Strafforde.

To speak plainly, whether they are able to pay the contribution for two months?

Sir William Bellasis.

He doubts they are not able.

They did offer to give security for their own particular, but not for the whole sum, or for the general.

Earl Bristol.

Shire from shire to be divided in this payment.

Berwick, though they could not undertake it for two months, yet, for one month, they were confident for their own county. They offered bonds and any other security.

Sir William Bellasis.

They presented a paper, to desire that every man might be bound for himself.

Sir

CHARLES I. 1640.

Sir John Maclay.

An impoſſibility of their paying their proportion; for they are not now able to pay that which is paſt.

Sir Lionel Madeſom.

They deſire their eſtates to be rated, and they will go as far as they can.

Earl Briſtol.

When it was in debate, they ſaid, it would be twenty times the prejudice to them to be plundered, than to pay the contribution.

There is 10,000l. worth of coals in Newcaſtle. This is to be conſidered.

King.

Confeſſed, if it were time to put them off.

Sir John Maclay.

He offers, for his part, to let his coals be ſold; he having the one half.

Earl Strafforde.

10,000l. worth of coals at Newcaſtle, it will appear to be the goods of ſuch as are under contribution in Berwick and Northumberland; and therefore not to take them.

Earl Briſtol.

To reſume the matter; they never thought the Biſhopric and Northumberland were able to find this, but the houſe thought fit to call in Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, yea Lancaſhire; what they cannot do, to be ſupplied by the next ſhires, or to leave off the treaty.

Northumberland man.

They are content to give particular ſecurity, but cannot give ſecurity general.

Earl Holland.

Why it ſhould not be enlarged?

King.

Lord Keeper, Biſhop of Durham, Lord Clifford, Lord Grey, Lord

Clare, Lord Mowbray, Lord Fauconbridge, Lord Strange, or as many as ſhall be preſent.

The gentlemen of the counties retire.

Lord Keeper

Reads the letter as it was amended.

King

Moves one thing, that the Lords ſhould write a letter to the Lords there *, to expreſs the days of payment, to enter into ſecurity, concerning the preſſing of the day of payment.

Earl Strafforde.

It is ſaid in the letter, it is a hopeful treaty; it is againſt yourſelves; for why ſhould they then haſten their money?

No hope, in the world, of accommodation, as he conceived, for the ſecurity will hardly paſs.

Lord Keeper.

He put that clauſe in of purpoſe. If we ſay this treaty hath no hope, it would not get a penny.

Earl Strafforde.

He differs wholly from him.

Earl Briſtol.

In the debate formerly, a hazard conceived not of the Biſhoprie and Northumberland, but of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Berwick and Carliſle; and that there was no ſtay for them, without giving them battle; but that they would come into Yorkſhire. Whether we ſhall put the hazard of the treaty upon it?

Earl Strafforde.

Not all remembered. He thinks Berwick and Carliſle ſafe. He d not to a batt †.

He ſaid it was impoſſible for them to come up to York, with the groſs of their army.

* To the city. † A material gap.

For

CHARLES I. 1640.

For contribution, he never thought that Yorkſhire ſhould be brought in, having been at 50 or 60,000l. charges. He prays to remember that if Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, the whole kingdom ſhould contribute, and rather having been at the great charge.

He moved that every pariſh might find their men, and it was found not fitting; and why now hearken to a contribution to the Scots?

For this Winter, he conceives Yorkſhire to be in no danger.

The Scots may go home, they are not neceſſitated, and therefore no neceſſity to put the country to contribution.

King.

No conſtraint to be uſed; but voluntarily; but to bring in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, they have no colour.

Earl Briſtol.

He conceives buſineſs beſt to be carried by commiſſion.

The imminency of the danger, makes the near ſhires more liable.

Upon the whole matter, if my Lord have 18,000 foot effectually, and 2200 horſe, he goes with my Lord Strafforde; he would not adviſe to give contribution.

He leaves it to my Lord Strafforde to adviſe whether the King can oppoſe the Scots, and break.

King.

No abſolute command to the counties.

Earl Strafforde.

Earl Briſtol puts hard conditions upon him.

He conceives the King's army not able to encounter the groſs of their army; but againſt ſmall parties they are able. But he would not anſwer the ſucceſs *.

He acknowledges the King's favour for his truſt and counſels.

He deſires with all his heart, that the command of the army were transferred to other.

* This is as a hard confeſſion, not very conſiſtent with what he threw out in other places.

For

For other commands he hath dealt faithfully.

He adviſes that the good of the King and people are ſo woven together, as one cannot ſtand without the other.

King.

To be underſtood of his greatneſs in the army.

Earl Strafforde.

He deſires to return to the buſineſs.

The queſtion.

So much pitched upon, and muſt be granted, or the treaty break.

De modo is now to be debated.

If we ſpeak abſolutely of honour and juſtice, the treaty can ſtand with neither. But reſpectively it may.

Whether we will break the treaty, or go on by ſecuring the contribution?

King.

There can be no poſſibility of ſecuring the contribution. No leave to draw in Yorkſhire.

Call and perſuade Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Lancaſhire and Cheſhire; but to command, you cannot.

Earl Holland.

Whoſoever cannot defend themſelves, will be content to come into contribution.

Earl Briſtol.

Though more honourable to let this go by this 850l. *per diem*, than to offer them a ſum.

King.

The contribution reſolved formerly, to be the only way to ſatisfy the Scots.

To perſuade, if they could, Weſtmoreland and Cumberland.

Earl Briſtol

Deſires to have in writing, what they ſhall do when they come back to Rippon.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Loth to come back, and ſay he could not conclude with them, having the Great Seal.

Their concluſion, to be brought to articles, and the King to ſet his hand unto it in the final concluſion.

They have brought the treaty to ſome concluſion by agreeing upon a competency.

To reſolve whether this ſhall be made good.

King.

To anſwer the Scots;

We have taken it into conſideration; and that ſome Lords are appointed to take care of it; and we doubt not but it will take effect.

Earl Briſtol.

To anſwer the Scots.

The gentlemen promiſe for a month. For the other, a committee of Lords appointed to take care of it.

Deſires the reſolution of this houſe to be conceived in writing.

A draught of the anſwer that the Commiſſioners are to give to the Commiſſioners of Scotland, touching the ſecurity for the competency, beginning,

The anſwer that the Lords Commiſſioners, &c.

York, Tueſday, the 28th October. Afternoon.

The Lords came to York from Rippon, and I attended them, at one in the afternoon; and about two met in the preſence.

Earl Briſtol

Deſires the papers to be read, and ſigned by all the Peers preſent.

They are read.

King.

Demandeth, whether both papers are ſo conjoined, that both muſt be neceſſarily ſigned?

Earl Briſtol.

It is requiſite that what they have done by the authority of all, ſhould by all be confirmed; and that the Scots will do the like.

They have inſtructions to do what they have done.

King.

He conceived that the competency was to be done by connivance.

Earl Briſtol.

It is a treaty of the greateſt diſadvantage that hath happened ſince the conqueſt.

The treaty of E. II. queſtioned by E. III., and divers that made it loſt their heads. They did what they did, by his Majeſty's warrant, and the Great Council, and under the Great Council. If it be according to their warrants, to be pleaſed clearly to avow it. That my Lords would avow their advices, being all done by their advice.

King.

They have power to raiſe a competency, but how he ſhould join in ſigning it. His Majeſty deſires the firſt paper to be read.

Whether if they ſign, they are engaged?

Earl Briſtol, &c.

They are,

1. That a competency was agreed upon by all.

2. That if the counties under contribution were not able, other adjacent counties to be brought.

3. They have called in ſome others, according to their inſtruction.

He did deſire his Majeſty that a committee might be ſettled here, for their diſcharge.

They muſt have wherewith to ſubſiſt, or elſe they will take it by force.

King.

Many things they have taken as the ſenſe of the houſe, which were particular.

CHARLES I. 1640.

It was generally reſolved by the Lords, that none ſhould be enforced to contribute.

Holland.

It is not forcing, but to keep them to their words which they have made.

Wharton.

The article clears it that it be not enforced.

Earl Briſtol.

It muſt be paid.

His Majeſty was content the Parliament ſhould be moved to have conſideration.

The army there muſt either have a competency, or they will fall a plundering.

King.

He loves to keep his word, and therefore would know how he ſhall ſee this performed.

Wharton.

The gentlemen had no hope of repayment; but now they hope to be recommended to Parliament, and likely to be paid; and willingly offer their utmoſt endeavours.

King.

Let us anſwer for no more than can be done.

Super totam materiam, he deſires to be adviſed by the Peers.

The Lords Commiſſioners deſire to withdraw, to ſet down their reaſons.

Earl Briſtol.

As his Majeſty's ſervants and ſubjects, they have treated to the beſt advantage.

They do unanimouſly adviſe his Majeſty to confirm the treaty.

They have drawn a declaration of their reaſons for giving that advice, and deſire that it may be read.

The

CHARLES I. 1640.

The Viſcount Mandeville.

Reads the paper beginning——

When firſt we came down to York, &c.

After the reading,

The Earl Strafforde.

He will not offer to deliver his opinion;

Becauſe he learns, that for opinion delivered by his Majeſty's ſervants, they are accountable.

But hearing his name called upon *, he is enforced to anſwer. And ſheweth how he came in the command of the army, and how he proceeded.

Objection 1. Concerning the retiring from Newcaſtle.

Objection 2. The gentlemen of the counties coming unto him, he left them to themſelves.

Sir William Bellaſis came to him indeed; and he told him that he did not ſee how they could help them; but referred him to his Majeſty, and willed him to go to Mr. Treaſurer.

Objection 3. He declared want of money.

It is true he did, and repreſented it with all earneſtneſs and faithfulneſs.

Objection 4. That he ſhould ſay all the county of York would be plundered.

He never ſaid it, nor never thought it;

For he always told the King, that the Scots could not come in, with the groſs of their army.

Tees was defencible againſt parties, but not againſt the groſs.

Objection 5. That we were not in a poſture to fight.

It is true. Not that there was any want in the perſons of the men; but not exerciſed. But that he ſaid, what was not to-day, might be to-morrow.

Objection 6. For fighting, it was a way he did decline.

* That muſt have been in one of the papers.

He

CHARLES I. 1640.

He had never adviſed to fight; but that his Majeſty ſhould lie upon the border, as being better able to maintain an army.

He never declined any thing of danger wherein his Majeſty or the Lords would have uſed his ſervice.

Objection 7. Concerning Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, that they were loſt.

He ſaid, he ſaw not if the Scots ſhould come up into them, how they could be ſaved; but never ſaid they were loſt.

He ſaid he would never give his conſent, that new counties ſhould be brought into contribution.

Earl Briſtol.

He deſires there may be no miſtake.

The paper doth not trench upon my Lord Strafforde, but only to ſhew the matter of fact, upon which they grounded their advice.

For my Lord was deſired to declare the ſtate of the army.

It is far from them to caſt any aſperſion upon my Lord.

It is of great neceſſity for clearing of their judgments, to let the world know the inducements.

If there be any thing that is hard, they will alter it.

For the buſineſs;

They deſire, and give their advice, that his Majeſty do go on to confirm the articles of competency and ceſſation, being the beſt, as the ſtate of things now ſtandeth.

A great care in the drawing the declaration, that it ſhall not reflect upon any man.

Earl Strafforde.

If for advices given to Kings, the parties muſt be accountable; it is a moſt miſerable caſe to be a counſellor.

King

Deſires to know whether the Commiſſioners would have the King and Lords ſign it, or he only?

Earl

Earl Briſtol.

If the King ſign it, with the advice of the Peers, it will be honourable.

King

Would have the Lords that were not at Rippon, to ſpeak.

Earl Briſtol.

If any will ſpeak to it may, otherwiſe it may be as an aſſent.

Lord Cherbury.

He will ſubſcribe as having an opinion of the wiſdom of the Commiſſioners.

To refer it till all the body of the Peers meet.

To put it otherwiſe to the vote.

Earl Briſtol.

Not to be voted here; it is a council and no court. The election is the King's.

The time is ſhort, and this being reſolved, other great matters to be propoſed.

Safe-conduct required to be under the Great Seal.

Opening of the ports, and freedom of trade, and poſt-ways free.

Every one involved, having given their advice to a treaty, and to inſtructions; therefore, if any thing be done contrary to their inſtruction, they are accountable; otherwiſe all the Peers are involved.

Earl Strafforde.

The Parliament at hand.

The treaty concluded by the Commiſſioners; and therefore no time to conſult long.

It were very hard, they having proceeded as they have, it were hard to ſingle out the Commiſſioners.

Though he confeſſeth that ſomething is in this treaty, which, but ſubmitting to their judgments, he would not have agreed with. But now to go on to agree and concur.

Earl

CHARLES I. 1640.

Earl Briſtol.

They crave not the excuſe of any man. Any man that ſays he doth not aſſent, doth ſay they have tranſgreſſed againſt their inſtructions.

King.

It may be ſaid they had power to make a ceſſation; yet ſome particular may not be thought fitting.

Marquis of Hamilton.*

He reſolved not to have ſpoken, but being commanded to give his opinion, as being one of thoſe that were not at Rippon. All the articles according to their inſtructions. He is ſatisfied that there is no command that the contribution ſhall be given to the Scots; for, by the paper, ſaith, if it be not paid, it ſhall not be a breach.

That his Majeſty ſhall approve of their proceeding by advice of the Peers.

King.

Time is very precious.

He ſaith the Lords have not exceeded their inſtructions or commiſſion.

His ratifying of this, to be underſtood, not to be an enforcing of any man to pay the contribution.

Earl Briſtol.

No kind of coërcion in the whole paper; for no officer of his Majeſty employed, or commanded to raiſe it. The Gentlemen of the counties have entreated that it might be in the Scottiſh to conſtrain.

King.

His Majeſty declared to avow what the Commiſſioners have done, and will ſign a paper.

The Scots have been clearly dealt with all, and better than they deſerve.

* He had a mind to diſtinguiſh himſelf from Lord Strafforde, as making fair weather with his countrymen.

Earl

Earl Briſtol.

That the Lord Lieutenant would take notice of the articles, that there be no error.

That his Lordſhip will take care that any of the Gentlemen will come unto him to adviſe and further the buſineſs.

King.

For the competency, he held the Lord Lieutenant no fit man to deal in. But for the ceſſation, fitting he ſhould take order.

Concerning Stockton, whether he ſhall retire any forces ſent thither?

Earl Briſtol.

Though the Scots did inſiſt, yet at laſt they did admit it, that the forces may be ſent thither, but that they may be moderated.

King.

He is drawing his army into winter garriſon. And that the place moſt commodious for ſo many, viz. three hundred.

Holland.

It is left to his Majeſty.

Earl Strafforde.

Whether he may hinder the Scots from plundering Cumberland and Weſtmoreland? If they ſhall offer it to the people. It is a breach of the treaty.

If they buy any horſes in Yorkſhire, whether they ſhall be denied, and ſtayed? They ſhall.

It was his Majeſty's pleaſure, upon his motion, that the two regiments of Stockton and Richmond, ſhould be contributed unto; and in caſe any ſhould deny, other regiments to be ſent to relieve.

Your Majeſty did approve of it, and gave order that he ſhould take order in it. He gave warrants to that purpoſe. The warrants called for by the Commiſſioners, and took copies. He deſires, if there be any error, to have it known, and he will recall the warrants *.

* Theſe warrants were afterwards an article of his impeachment; and it was hard meaſure. It would have been happy for that great man, had he remained at the head of the government in Ireland, inſtead of taking the command of the army here. In the other country, he had certainly done important ſervice to the Engliſh intereſt, and greatly improved that kingdom. Had he remained there, in all probability, the Iriſh rebellion had never broken out, or been extinguiſhed immediately.

CHARLES I. 1640.

Earl Briſtol.

When this was moved, he ſpake unto it, and thought it fit, but to be done by the King.

Earl Strafforde.

He conceives that he had the order of the King, and approbation of the Lords; if not, he will amend it.

King.

The King avowed that he gave order; and that the Lords thought it reaſonable, and allowed it.

Earl Briſtol.

That there may be a Committee of the counties, for the counties of Northumberland, Biſhopric, Cumberland and Weſtmoreland.

King.

Two of the Lords to be nominated, and to ſtay here to-morrow, to take order to ſettle the Committee.

Earl Briſtol.

A great complaint comes from Carliſle to the King, of the Scots goods that come there. It will put all the borders into combuſtion.

King.

Before the ceſſation, order was given to forbid trade of the Scots; but now the ceſſation is agreed, it ſhall be altered.

Committee to ſit at London, for the receipt of the petitions of the northern counties.

Earl Holland, Earl Berkſhire, Viſcount Mandeville, Lord Wharton, Lord Paget, and Pawlet, and Mr. Secretary Vane.

Gentlemen of Northumberland, Biſhopric, Newcaſtle, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, came in, and were willed to appoint two or three principal men of every county to be Commiſſioners, for ſeeing the contribution raiſed, and to inform the Lords Committees of the progreſs thereof.

A Relation

A Relation of the Incident, 1641. *By Lord Lanerick.*

YOU ſhould bluſh when you remember to have owned ſo much friendſhip, for one branded with the black name of a traitor; or to have loved a perſon that was capable of ingratitude to a deſerving maſter; for though I ſhould have forgot the duty I owe his Majeſty as a ſubject, whereunto I am ſworn and tied by the ſtricteſt oaths can be impoſed upon a chriſtian; yet, if I had retained the leaſt ſenſe of honour, I could never have forgot his Majeſty's particular favours to me, who, from nothing, hath heaped both fortune and honours on me. I muſt beg from you the trouble of reading this paper, and ſhall not deſire a more favourable conſtruction of my actions, than you would of his, you never ſaw.

Since my coming into Scotland, his Majeſty can bear me witneſs, if in every particular wherein I conceived he had an intereſt, I have not carried myſelf as a dutiful ſubject, and an affectionate ſervant to him.

It is true, the opinion I found he had of my brother, I conceived made him in ſome meaſure jealous of me, whereof, upon divers occaſions, I ſtrove to clear myſelf, and profeſſed to him, that my affection to his ſervice was ſuch, as if I believed my brother were not ſo dutiful to him as he ought to be, no man ſhould more willingly contribute to bring him to his deſerved puniſhment than myſelf *. His Majeſty then, and upon divers other occaſions, was pleaſed to ſay, he believed me to be an honeſt man, and that he had never heard any thing to the contrary; but that he thought my brother had been very *active in his own preſervation.*

* The Marquis was odious both in England and Scotland; ſo that had he not managed the oppoſers in both countries extremely, he would have been fallen upon like Strafforde and Laud.

CHARLES I. 1641.

This expreſſion of his Majeſty's made me look more ſtrictly unto my brother's actions, to ſee if I could find that in any particular whereby he ſtrove to preſerve himſelf, he had prejudiced the King's juſt deſigns. Poſſibly my blood might claim ſuch an intereſt in his, as to procure a partial conſtruction of his actions from me; but truly, the nearer I looked into his thoughts, the greater affection and fidelity I found in him to his maſter; and if in this judgment I have erred, it was the brain's fault, not the blood's; for all intereſt I laid aſide.

I muſt confeſs his Majeſty found great oppoſition in this country, yet (as I hope for mercy, though I found myſelf ſuſpected by him) I ſtrove to do him the beſt ſervice I could; and when all differences were coming to ſome accommodation, and I in hopes his Majeſty might have returned with ſatisfaction to England; all thoſe hopes were deſtroyed, by this unfortunate accident, which now forceth this diſtance betwixt his Majeſty and us. And thus it was firſt diſcovered;

Upon the 2d of this current, General Leſlie ſent to the Parliament Houſe, to deſire my brother and the Earl of Argyle, before their return to court, to come ſpeak with him at his houſe, with as great privacy as could be; which they did; and with him they found one Lieutenant-colonel Hurrie, to whom the General ſaid, my brother and Argyle were much obliged; and deſired Hurrie to acquaint them with that particular, which he had already diſcovered to him; which Hurrie did, and told them, that he was informed there was a plot, that ſame night, to cut the throats both of Argyle, my brother, and myſelf; the manner of the doing of it, was diſcovered to him, by one Captain Stewart, who ſhould have been an actor in it; and ſhould have been done in the King's withdrawing chamber, where we three ſhould have been called in, as to ſpeak with his Majeſty about ſome Parliament buſineſs; and that immediately two Lords ſhould have entered at a door which anſwers from the garden, with ſome two hundred

hundred or three hundred men; where they ſhould either have killed us, or carried us a board a ſhip of his Majeſty's, which then lay in the road. This was only the depoſition of one witneſs; on which my brother and Argyle would not ſo far build, as to form any accuſation; nor yet ſo far undervalue it, as not to labour to bring it to light, if any ſuch thing there were. Therefore, my brother, when he ſpoke to the King, told him only in general, that he heard there was ſome plot intended againſt his life, the particulars whereof he could not then condeſcend upon, becauſe he could not ſufficiently prove it; but thereafter Captain Stewart being ſent to him, confirmed all Hurrie had ſaid in his name: there were likewiſe great preſumptions found, from the depoſitions of one Lieutenant-colonel Hume, and divers others, who had been ſpoke to, to be in readineſs againſt that night, and promiſes made to them of making their fortunes, if they would aſſiſt in a deſign which was intended. Theſe were motives enough to move my brother and Argyle to look to themſelves, and not to return to court that night. CHARLES I. 1641.

They immediately ſent thereafter for me (for the hour was near paſt, that this ſhould have been put in execution), who was altogether ignorant of all theſe paſſages; and after I had refuſed four ſeveral times to come to them, (for I was engaged in ſome company I was loth to leave), I went, and found them in my brother Lindſay's * houſe, where they acquainted me with every particular; and Captain Stewart and Hurrie being preſent, ſaid, they would make good their depoſitions with the hazard of the laſt drop of their blood.

Truly, I was not ſo much troubled with the hazard of loſing a life, wherein, God knows, theſe many years I have not taken great pleaſure, as with the great prejudice I ſaw this would bring to his Majeſty's affairs, and the peace and quiet of this poor kingdom.

* He had been a covenanter from the beginning.

That

CHARLES I. 1641.

That night we ſecured ourſelves as well as we could, againſt the malice of our enemies, and the next morning wrote to his Majeſty the reaſon of our abſenting ourſelves that night from court; and deſired to know what his Majeſty would be pleaſed to command us to do; which we ſhould moſt readily obey. But it ſeems he was not ſatisfied with our letters; for that afternoon he came up to the Parliament Houſe, with five or ſix hundred following his coach, amongſt whom, were all thoſe that were cited to the Parliament, and likewiſe thoſe that were accuſed by Hurrie and Stewart, to have been of this plot againſt us. It grieved my ſoul, to ſee his Majeſty take this courſe. To prevent tumult in the ſtreets, we reſolved to leave the town, which could not have been ſhunned if we had gone to the Parliament Houſe with our friends at our backs, who by no means would condeſcend to leave us; yet before our going, we deſired my Lord Chancellor to ſhew his Majeſty, that our reſpects to him, and our deſire to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, moved us to it. The next morning, we all again wrote to his Majeſty, in as humble and dutiful a way as we could poſſibly imagine; but the malice of our enemies was too ſtrong, and had already poſſeſſed him with a bad impreſſion of us.

The next day, I was informed, his Majeſty had let fall ſome expreſſions to my diſadvantage, in the Parliament Houſe; whereupon I again ſent to him, begging him to believe, that I had not a heart capable of a diſloyal thought to him; and that if I believed my brother had any, he ſhould not be troubled with thinking how to puniſh him, for I had both a heart and a hand able to do it; and that if his Majeſty thought it fit I ſhould return to court, I would there ſtay and hazard my life amongſt the thickeſt crowd of my enemies, and willingly loſe it, ſo I might expreſs my reſpect and fidelity to him; but of this, I have had no anſwer, ſo I am forced to ſtay here, until I know

his Majeſty's pleaſure. God is my witneſs, I cannot have ſo great a trouble for the loſs of life and fortune, as for theſe infallible inconveniencies which I ſee will fall upon his Majeſty, if he liſten to the whiſpers of ſome that are about him; and though I am moſt confident his Majeſty knows not of any ſuch baſe deſign (if any ſuch there were) yet I may ſay, he injures himſelf much, in ſtriving to protect thoſe that are accuſed.

Forgive me troubling you ſo long, for it may be the laſt; and I ſhould be ſorry to die in your opinion a traitor to my Prince. I ſhall trouble you no more until I know what opinion you have of the humbleſt of your ſervants

Kenneell,
this 22d of October, 1641.

LANERICK *.

* This is a very dark account of an affair which nobody underſtood at the time, and which cannot now be cleared up. The Hamilton collection ſeems very defective at this period. The name of the perſon to whom it was addreſſed does not appear. There were great intrigues during that ſeſſion of the Scotch Parliament; and the popular tide ran ſo ſtrong againſt the King, that he was obliged to make very diſadvantageous conceſſions, and to leave the power in the hands of the covenanting party.

JAMES II. 1685.

No. V.

From the Harleian MSS.

Papers relative to Monmouth's rebellion.

[The Editor chuſes to paſs over the reign of Charles II. as his collection would not add materially to the anecdotes which have appeared in ſome * late hiſtories, and which in the main deſerve great credit, being derived from very authentic ſources.

He takes the account of the battle of Sedgemore to be the compoſition of King James himſelf; and it is far more particular and exact than any which has yet been publiſhed. Mr. Wade's confeſſion adds ſome material circumſtances to Lord Grey's very curious narrative, for which the public is indebted to the late Mr. Mallet.

It is perhaps more to be wiſhed than expected that King James's Memoirs might be given entire to the world, by thoſe who have the power over them; as it would be far more ſatisfactory to review them in their original ſtate, than in ſuch imperfect and haſty extracts as have hitherto been allowed to be taken. And to ſpeak fairly, the prudential motives, which might formerly have rendered their publication improper, ſeem no longer to exiſt. A greater treaſure of anecdotes for the peruſal of an Engliſhman, one's imagination can hardly form an idea of; and it would be very material to combine and compare the whole hiſtorical maſs, as it came, at different times, from the pen of that exact and diligent Prince, whoſe application to buſineſs may juſtly be propoſed as a pattern to thoſe of his rank, though his principles and his judgment were erroneous, and exceptionable, in the higheſt degree.]

* Dalrymple's and Macpherſon's.

King James's account of the battle at Sedgemore.

THE Duke of Monmouth marched from Wells to Bridgwater on the 29th of June, from whence he ſent his orders to the neighbouring villages to ſend in proviſions to him; and to ſend in men with what tools they had, as if he intended to fix there, and fortify himſelf. But whether he deſigned it then, as it is likely he did, in expectation that there ſhould be a riſing in London, he ſending Major Manley and his chaplain from thence to the city, to call upon his friends to do it; or that he intended, by ſending thoſe orders to the villages, only to make Lord Feverſham believe he deſigned it, that he might the better give him the ſlip, and once again endeavour to get to Cainſham bridge before him, with deſign to march towards Cheſhire, where he had great hopes that many men of eſtates and quality, as well as great numbers of common people, would join with him; whether this was ſo or no, or that he altered his mind after the departure of Mr. Manley, is not known. He began to march out of Bridgwater on the 4th of July, with all his army, about three o'clock in the afternoon, paſſing the bridge, and drew them all up in a meadow with an intention to begin his march for Cainſham ſo ſoon as it ſhould grow dark, in order to his getting into Cheſhire. But as his men were paſſing the bridge, having intelligence that the King's troops were come to Weſton that afternoon, and that the foot was camped on the moor juſt under the village, and the horſe quartered in it, and aſking the ſpy if they began to entrench, and being told they did not, which being confirmed to him a ſecond time, he altered his mind, and inſtead of marching northward, reſolved to attack Lord Feverſham where he lay, hoping to ſurpriſe him. To which purpoſe he began to march as it grew night, taking his way about, at the head of the moor, leaving Chedſey on his right hand; hoping by taking that compaſs, to

JAMES II. 1685.

ſurpriſe the King's troops; who, he believed, would not expect him that way, it being alſo the beſt way he could take to attack them, the ſtrait way being a perpetual defile till they were very near Weſton, the camp to which Lord Feverſham had advanced with all the King's troops; which were about 1800 foot, in ſix ſmall battalions, and ſome 700 horſe and dragoons, leaving the Earl of Pembroke at Middleſea, and villages adjacent, with the militia, horſe and foot. The poſt of Weſton was a very well choſen one, for ſuch a ſmall body of men, and very ſecure, the foot being camped with their rear to the village, and had their front covered by a ditch, which ſerves for a drain to the moor; and though it was then a dry ſeaſon, was not to be paſt by horſe but in one or two places; and it was this drain deceived the Duke of Monmouth, for he not knowing of it, thought the foot lay open, and conſequently the whole quarter. And now Lord Feverſham being advertiſed that the rebels army were paſſed over the bridge, and drawn up in a meadow by the river-ſide cloſe by it, judged their deſign was to ſee if they could give him the ſlip, and get to Cainſham bridge before him; and, becauſe his horſe and dragoons had been much haraſſed by their perpetual marching, thought it beſt not to draw them out of their quarters, but to let them remain there, that they might be the freſher to march after the rebels the next day, in caſe they ſhould march northward; but left a guard of one hundred horſe, commanded by Sir Francis Compton, and fifty dragoons, upon the moor, the way the rebels came, which had advanced guards and centries before them, to give notice if any thing came that way. He placed another guard on the highway which comes from Bridgwater, and fifty foot in a ſheepfold on the moor, to help to make their retreat in caſe they ſhould be puſhed. And to be advertiſed of the enemy's motion, he ſent Major Oglethorpe with a party of horſe, to croſs both the roads, toward Briſtol and Cainſham, that, if they were marched that way, he might know it; and was out himſelf till near one after midnight,

midnight, at the horſe guard on the moor towards Chedſey, expecting the return of his party, and to hear the noiſe of the enemy's march, in caſe they did, it being a very ſtill night; and then returned back to his quarters. JAMES II. 1685.

In the mean time, the rebels were marching; and though Oglethorpe croſſed both the roads, as he was ordered, beyond the end of the moor, he fell not into their march, they not coming quite ſo far as he was, nor did he hear them; and ſo returning back to the moor, went through Chedſey, and croſſed to the other road which goes from Bridgwater to Weſton, and halting there within half a mile of that town, ſent four horſemen to go, if they could, as far as the bridge, to bring him ſome certain news; who going as far as a barricado that was near the bridge, the centinel challenging them, they pretended to be of their men, and anſwered Monmouth, and then aſked where he was; the fellow replied, he was marched with the whole army, and had only left a guard there; upon which they returned back to their party, and Oglethorpe made what haſte he could back to the camp, to give notice of it.

In the mean time the Duke of Monmouth was upon his march towards Weſton, taking the compaſs, as I have already ſaid, by the way of the moor, and ordered what baggage and carriages he had, with a ſmall guard, when he turned off into the moor, to go on the road to Axbridge, and to ſtay there till farther order, and continued his march to attack the King's troops. He had two defiles to paſs after he was in the moor, the one preſently after he came on it, and the other about a mile from the camp. He drew up in two columns after he had paſſed the firſt, the foot on the right, and the horſe on the left, and ſo marched till he came to the ſecond. There his horſe paſſed over firſt, which were ſome eight ſquadrons; his cannon, which were but three ſmall iron guns, marched over after them, at the head of the foot, which conſiſted of five great battalions, each of which had one company of at leaſt one hundred

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ſcythemen, inſtead of grenadiers; the horſe was commanded by Lord Grey, with the title of Lieutenant General; the five regiments of foot, by Wade, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke of Monmouth's own regiment; Matthews commanded the next, then Holmes, Buffet, and Foulks. As they were paſſing the laſt defile, the advanced centries of the horſe-guards diſcovered them, and gallopped back to advertiſe Sir Francis Compton of it, who immediately gave the alarm to the camp, and ſtaid in his poſt till he received a faint charge from an advanced party of ſome of the rebels horſe; who, after having fired their carabines, and received ſome ſhot from his party, went off on their ſide, and he drew back to the camp on the right hand of our foot behind the ditch. Whilſt this paſſed, the Duke of Monmouth hearing the alarm was taken in the King's camp, ordered Lord Grey to march faſt on with the horſe to fall in amongſt the tents of the foot, and to take them by the flanks, not knowing any thing of the ditch which covered them, and told him he would march after him with the foot as faſt as he could. And now in the camp, ſo ſoon as they had the alarm, the foot ſtood to their arms, and were in a moment drawn up in battle at the head of their tents, in very good order, and the horſe were drawing out of the village as faſt as they could. The foot were in ſix battalions; the firſt on the right was compoſed of Dunbarton's, one company of which were grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Douglas. Next to which were two battalions of the firſt regiment of guards, of ſix companies in each, beſides one company of grenadiers of that regiment; at the head of the firſt of which was the Duke of Grafton their Colonel, and Eaton the Major of it, was at the head of the other. Next to them was a battalion of the ſecond regiment of guards of ſix companies, and another company of grenadiers; at whoſe head was Lieutenant Colonel Sackville. Then five companies of Trelawny, one of which were grenadiers; commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Churchill. On the left of all was another ſmall battalion, compoſed,

as

as the former, commanded by Colonel Kirke. As for the horſe, there were one hundred and fifty, commanded out of the three troops of guards; ſixty grenadiers on horſeback, commanded by Villiers; ſeven troops of the King's regiment of horſe; and four of dragoons; the horſe commanded by Sir Francis Compton, and the dragoons by Lord Cornbury, one of which laſt was at Lamport, commanded by Captain Coy, to ſecure that paſs, and to get intelligence, in caſe the rebels ſhould march Weſtward. The train of artillery conſiſted of ſixteen field-pieces, under the conduct of Mr. Sheers *. And now whilſt the King's horſe were getting in order, the rebels horſe, in purſuance of the orders they had received, marched on to put them in execution, and meeting with the ditch, came along by it, and being challenged by Douglas, *who they were?* ſome one anſwered Albemarle; at leaſt he underſtood it ſo, and let them paſs without firing at them. Then coming up to the firſt battalion of the guards, Captain Berkley, who commanded the right wing of the muſketeers of it, aſked *who they were for?* They anſwered, *The King*. He called to them, *What King?* They anſwered, *Monmouth*, and *God with us*, which was their word. He then ſaid, *Take this with you*; and made his wing fire at them: So did the other wing of that battalion; as alſo the next battalion of the ſame regiment, and half that of the two regiments of guards. Upon which, that party of the rebels horſe ran away, leaving ſome of their men and horſes on the ground, by the fire they had received; but to this day it was not known certainly, whether it was only part, or their whole horſe that came ſo up to the ditch; or whether it was part of them, or a freſh party of them, which were charged ſome time after, by a party of our horſe. JAMES II. 1685.

As this happened, Lord Feverſham, who had been getting the horſe in order, and ſent for the cannon, came to the foot, and ordered them to keep their fire till the enemy came cloſe up

* Who tranſlated Polybius.

to

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to them. Soon after this, the rebels foot came up, but not in good order; for the Duke of Monmouth would not ſtay after they had paſſed the laſt defile, to draw up in battle, but made them march on in their ordinary way of marching, battalion after battalion, guiding their march by the matches of Douglas (which were the only battalion of the King's foot that had matchlocks) as ſoon as they came in ſight of the camp, and did not begin to form till they came within about eighty paces of the ditch, intending ſo ſoon as their whole line was drawn up, to have attacked the King's foot. But, according to the account Lieutenant Colonel Wade has given, before the three firſt battalions were quite got up upon a line, *his* being the right hand one, Matthews, which was the next to him, without order from their commander, began to fire; then his, and Holmes's, which was on Matthews left, did the like. After which they could never make their men advance one foot; but ſtood firing as they were, and though they thought that their right was over againſt the King's left, they were miſtaken; for their right reached no farther than the firſt battalion of the guards, and their three ſmall guns were advanced as near as could be, juſt before the interval which was between Matthews and Holmes, and were very well plied, and did great execution on Douglas, and the firſt battalion of the guards; which two indeed bore all the brunt of the rebels fire, and loſt many officers and ſoldiers, and moſt of them by the cannon. For though the rebels fired hard, their men being new, ſhot too high, and they continued firing at leaſt three quarters of an hour; and except Douglas who fired a little, the reſt never fired a ſhot, but bore the rebels ſhot both ſmall and great with great order and ſteadineſs, only the King's cannon which came ſoon up in the intervals of the battalions, plied the rebels very hard, and did good execution.

It is a hard matter to give a very exact account of ſuch an action as this, which began in the night, and was ended by break of day; and to do right to all the general officers and other commanders, who behaved themſelves with great ſteadineſs and reſolution

ſolution in their ſeveral poſts and ſtations, as appeared by the ſucceſs they had. Whilſt this was paſſing between the foot, Lord Feverſham ordered Villiers with all the horſe-guards and grenadiers on horſeback (except that party of them which had been out with Oglethorpe), Captain Adderly's troop of horſe, and one troop of dragoons, to paſs over the ditch on the left of the foot, and to draw up on the enemy's right, but not to charge them; and meeting Oglethorpe who was but then come back with his party of guards and volunteers from towards Bridgwater, and Captain Upert with his ſmall guard of fifty horſe, brought them with him behind the foot, to the right, where finding the reſt of the horſe and dragoons drawn up, the laſt next the foot, and the horſe on the right of all, ordered them to paſs over the ditch; and Oglethorpe, who with his party paſſed over firſt, met with a body of the rebels horſe. What their number was, the darkneſs of the night, and their running ſo ſoon, made it not to be known; ſo that inſtead of purſuing them, they were ordered to halt; and after they had ſtood ſome time fronting that way, Lord Feverſham ordered them to wheel to the left, and to keep their ground, not knowing what was become of all the rebels horſe; not judging it proper then to let them charge their foot; only Oglethorpe, with his party, tried one of their battalions, but was beaten back by them, though they were mingled amongſt them, and had ſeveral of his men wounded and knocked off their horſes, amongſt which number was Captain Sarsfield, who was knocked down by the butt end of a muſket and left for dead upon the place. I forgot to give an account of one thing which happened before the horſe and dragoons paſſed over the ditch; which was, that Holmes's battalion firing at the Lord Cornbury's troop of dragoons, his Lieutenant Warde, who was ſtanding by him, called out to that battalion not to fire more at them, for that they were friends; which they thinking to be true, did not only that, but Holmes himſelf, taking them for friends, came up on horſeback from

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the head of his battalion to the very ditch behind which they ſtood. The ſame Lieutenant calling to him, *Who are you for?* and being anſwered, *For who but Monmouth*; the Lieutenant and one of the ſerjeants fired at him, killed his horſe under him, and broke his arm, and there he lay. Soon after which, Lord Churchill paſſing over the ditch there, when that wing paſſed, ſeeing him hold up his head as he lay, aſked him, *Who art thou?* He anſwered, he was not in a condition to tell, and lay ſtill, but afterwards got up, and was taken by ſome ſtraggling men among the tents of the foot.

And now as things were in this condition, Lord Churchill went to the left of the foot, and ordered the two Tangier battalions to march from their poſt, there being no enemy againſt them, and to march behind the other battalion, to draw up on Douglas's right. But, as I take it, juſt as they had got thither, the day beginning to break, Lord Feverſham, who was with the horſe on the right, ſeeing no appearance of any more of the rebels horſe, and that the pikes of one of their battalions began to ſhake, and at laſt open, ordered the foot to paſs over the ditch to charge them; which they did. Which the rebels ſeeing, ran before they came to handy blows, and the five companies of grenadiers were ordered to follow the purſuit, and ſome of the horſe and dragoons fell in with them, and did execution on them, till they got off the moor into the incloſures, which they ſoon did, the moor being but eight hundred yards broad in that place, from ditch to ditch. There was the greateſt ſlaughter of the rebels in that ditch, which was deep and boggy, and in a corn field, which was on the other ſide of it; and there they took and gave quarter to about twelve hundred of them.

As for the Duke of Monmouth himſelf, he brought up the foot; and then went to his cannon to ſee them well plied, as indeed they were, by a Dutch gunner he had brought over with him; but ſome time after, his horſe were all gone, and that Williams, a ſervant of his, told him he might ſee the King's horſe on their flanks, going, as he

he believed, to encompaſs them, he put off his arms, and taking one hundred guineas from his ſervant, left his foot ſtill fighting, and went away with Lord Grey (who came to him after his horſe were all diſperſed or gone), a Brandenburgher, and one or two more, and went up the hill which overlooks the moor as you go towards Briſtol, and from thence looked about, and could ſee his foot ſtill firing; and continued on his way to the top of Mendip hills, where he diſguiſed himſelf, and altering his courſe, took his way towards Ringwood, deſigning to get into the new foreſt; which if he could once have done, he looked on himſelf as ſafe, Lord Grey being well acquainted there; and then it would have been eaſy for him to have found ſome embarkation to have carried him beyond ſea. But to return to his beaten troops, Buffet's battalion ſuffered the moſt, who were all of the town of Taunton, and were for the moſt part killed or taken. The reſt were all diſperſed, though they ſuffered not ſo much; only Wade with ſome two or three hundred foot of his battalion, got in a body into Bridgwater, where he found three of their troops of horſe, which had run away in the night, drawn up in good order in the market-place, commanded by Captain Alexander, Captain Hucker, and one Tucker. At firſt they would not own they were beaten, to the people of the town; but after they had conſulted a little amongſt themſelves, thought the beſt way they could do for ſelf-preſervation was to diſperſe, which they did, every man ſhifting for himſelf; ſo that when Lord Feverſham marched towards Bridgwater, having ſent before him a trumpeter to ſummon the town, expecting that thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle, might be rallied there to defend it, he found them all gone.

As for the number of the ſlain on the King's ſide, they amounted not in all to above and ſome wounded *. On the rebels,

* The London Gazette is ſilent as to the account. According to Ralph, thoſe who loſs on the King's ſide, ſo that the Editor rated it higheſt, ſpeak of four hundred. cannot venture to fill up the blanks in this

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there lay about two hundred of them dead on the moor; what were ſlain in the ditch, and the incloſures, in the purſuit, is very uncertain; there were about hundreds of them taken, amongſt which, very few officers. It is very hard to give an exact relation of ſuch a night piece of ſervice as this was, ſo that it is not to be wondered at, if one does not give ſo particular an account of the behaviour of the general officers, and indeed of all the officers of the ſeveral bodies of horſe, foot, and dragoons, who, it is certain, behaved themſelves with great ſteadineſs and temper, as well as reſolution, and ſhowed themſelves to be old troops, and what difference there is between ſuch, and new raiſed men. And here I cannot chuſe but make this remark, That as God Almighty has been pleaſed to be ſometimes called the Lord of hoſts, ſo he has many and many a time made his power to be known upon ſuch occaſions as theſe, and as he commanded Gideon to ſend away all his army, but three hundred choſen men, that the ſtiff-necked might own his power, ſo he has, in our days, ſaved from total ruin and deſtruction, with a handful of men, not only theſe three kingdoms, but France itſelf, in 1652 *, when nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preſerved that Monarchy from being preſently deſtroyed by rebellious ſubjects and foreign enemies.

* This alludes to the affair of Gien between the Prince of Condé and Marſhal Turenne; when the latter gained great reputation, and ſaved the King and the Court from being taken priſoners. This alluſion to the French civil war, in which the Duke of York himſelf had ſerved, confirms the notice of this paper's being his compoſition.

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*Mr. Wade's further * Information, October the 11th, 1685.*

WHILST we were on ſhipboard, we received ſeveral commiſſions from the Duke in paper †. When we approached Lyme, on the night before we landed, we came to an anchor; and in the night the Duke ſent Mr. Thomas Dare aſhore by the boat, who landed about two miles from Lyme, with inſtruction to learn the preſent poſture of the country, and inform Colonel Venner in the boat, and to ſpeed away for Taunton, to raiſe that place, and to bring what ſtrength he could to Lyme. At break of day, the tide then ſerving, we weighed anchor and ſet ſail for Lyme, and in our courſe met the boat, which returning gave this account, That they had put Mr. Dare aſhore; that that part of the country was clear, no force thereabout; but that the Duke of Albemarle was gone to Exeter, to raiſe the militia of Devonſhire; and that the Somerſetſhire forces were on foot, and at Taunton: upon which the Duke conſulted whether we ought to land, and it was reſolved that we ought. We came about noon to an anchor, in the bay before the town, within a league of it, and immediately ſurpriſed a little fiſher boat with three perſons in it, by whom we underſtood more perfectly the poſture of the town, and that we ſhould meet with no reſiſtance in it, as they believed. Our two ſmaller ſhips ſailed about half a mile nearer the town than the frigate, which brought forth the Cuſtom-houſe boat and officers, who were ſurpriſed by Mr. Hayes, who commanded the ſhip of burden, on board of whom they came, and brought priſoners on board the frigate: the Duke treated them very civilly, and learned from them, that no reſiſtance could be made by the town. After dinner, when the tide ſerved, we weighed anchor and came as near the town as we could, and being then maſters of ſeven boats, we got all our land force on

Wedneſday night.

Thurſday.

* The firſt information is miſſing.

† The liſt follows, but is thought not material enough to be inſerted.

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board of them, and landed near Lyme, on the ſtrand, being about ſunſet. From whence we marched, very well armed and clothed, to Lyme, in a military manner, the Duke at the head of us, where we were received by the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, the mayor being fled.

Our company was by the Duke divided into three parts, two-thirds whereof were appointed to guard the avenues of the town, the remaining third was to get the arms and ammunition from on board the ſhips; my part of it was to get the pieces of cannon on ſhore, and ſee them mounted, which I performed by break of day, having good aſſiſtance of mariners and townſmen. I forgot to mention that at our landing, near ſixty young fellows of the town, offered their ſervice to the Duke, and were immediately liſted, and had arms delivered them: by break of day before the morning (the news of the Duke's landing being ſpread abroad into the country) many came and offered their ſervice, I ſuppoſe ſome hundreds. Some

Friday.

ſaid that they were in bed when they heard the news, but that they immediately aroſe and came away: the next day great numbers preſented themſelves to the Duke. The method was, that when they came, the Duke cauſed their names to be taken, and ſent them by a meſſenger with the liſt of their names to the Town-hall, where the arms were, and perſons to give them out, who immediately armed them, and ſent them by other meſſengers to the officers who guarded the avenues, where they were put in order, and exerciſed.

That day being Friday, the morrow after our landing, all diligence imaginable was uſed to get horſes; meſſengers were ſent to ſeize all they could lay their hands on near the town; by noon conſiderable numbers were brought in, I ſuppoſe near forty or fifty; and upon intelligence that there were ſeveral perſons in Bridport, ſix miles from Lyme, ready to join us, if the way were clear of the conſtable's guard then kept up in the town, Major Manly was ſent with fifteen horſe, mounted for the moſt part by officers, and gen-

tlemen that came over with the Duke, to bring off the perſons that were willing to join them. But they found not only the conſtable's watch, but a troop of militia horſe to oppoſe them; which the major charged and routed, killing two of the troopers; and finding them ſupported with greater force, retreated to Lyme without purſuit, or a man wounded. JAMES II. 1685.

This being Friday at night, we had a rendezvous of our forces, and marched out of town with about eight hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe, and three pieces of cannon, to a croſs-way, where we poſted ourſelves advantageouſly in the hedges and ſtreights, to receive the Duke of Albemarle, who (as the Duke was informed, yet falſely) intended to fall upon us that night. This night the foot lay upon the ground with their arms, in rank and file, and the horſemen on the ground, holding their bridles in their hands, as their horſes ſtood in ſquadron. This night I had no command of foot, but a party of horſe, about twenty-five in number; there were left in town about two hundred foot and one piece of cannon.

Early in the morning being Saturday, a little after break of day, Mr. Dare returned to us, with about forty horſe pretty well mounted, but few of them armed, and all but ordinary fellows; but himſelf very well mounted: for which horſe, in the evening * Mr. Fletcher and he falling out, Mr. Dare received a ſhot in the head, of which he inſtantly died, and Mr. Fletcher was committed priſoner to the ſhip; which was a great loſs to the Duke, in Mr. Dare, who was the Duke's Secretary, and paymaſter of the army, and in Mr. Fletcher, who was his beſt horſe officer, and had received a commiſſion to be Lieutenant Colonel to my Lord Grey. By Mr. Dare we underſtood, the Somerſet militia was in Taunton, which kept it from riſing. The ſame morning came to me Mr. Tyler of Periſtole, whom I preſently made my Lieutenant; he came from Saturday.

* The famous Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.

Exeter,

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Exeter, and gave the Duke an account, that the Duke of Albemarle was in no condition to fall upon him in ſome days.

This day I formed the Duke's regiment, and delivered every Captain his command: the regiment, as it then ſtood, amounted to about five hundred men. Colonel Holmes formed his this day, amounting, I believe, to near the ſame number. Colonel Fouke his, being, I believe, about three hundred and fifty; and the yellow, which was afterwards Matthews's, began to be formed, under the command of Major Fox. Near the evening the Duke told me, I muſt prepare a party of three hundred foot of his own regiment, to which he would add a hundred of Fouke's, under the command of Captain Francis Goodenough, and a party of forty horſe commanded by my Lord Grey, to fall upon the militia of Dorſetſhire, then at Bridport ſix miles off us; that we were to march all night, and beat up their quarters by break of day; which I did. The order of our march was, that Lieutenant Mitchell ſhould lead the vanguard, being of forty muſketeers, and be followed with a hundred muſketeers under the command of Captain Thompſon; the reſt of the foot to follow, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Venner; and the horſe in the rear commanded by Lord Grey, who commanded the whole party in chief, but was ordered by the Duke to take the advice of Colonel Venner.

We marched all night in great ſecrecy, and by the way met with information, that the forces in the town were twelve hundred foot, and a hundred horſe ſtrong, at the leaſt, which was an unequal match for us. But being poſitively commanded to attempt it, we were reſolved to do our beſt endeavours; we carried the perſon with us priſoner, that gave us the account; and ſomewhat after broad day, we came to Bridport, being favoured with a thick miſt.

Sunday. They had no out-guards at all but what we met with juſt at the town's end; but before I ſpeak of the action, I ſhall ſet down what I obſerved of the ſituation of the town.

It

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It is a long town of one broad ſtreet, and a croſs ſtreet, a bridge of ſtone at each end of the long ſtreet; the horſe, and ſome ſmall party of foot, were in the town, the reſt of the foot were in a meadow, beyond the farthermoſt bridge. We, entering the town, met with ſmall reſiſtance; the out-guards retired with expedition to the main-guard, who were as ſpeedy in their retreat, enduring only one volley of our van-guard of muſketry; ſo that we became maſters of the town immediately, and found many of the militia horſes running up and down the ſtreets without riders.

We having ſecured the entrance into the town by a ſtand of pikes, and two or three files of muſketeers, under the command of Enſign Aſcough, and the great croſs ſtreet, by two little parties of foot, commanded by Lieutenants Lillingſtone and Brinſcombe, leſt we ſhould be ſurrounded, the number of the enemy being ſo great; we advanced with a ſmall body of foot, to attack the farthermoſt bridge, under the command of Colonel Venner, and having drawn up another ſmall body of foot behind them for their ſuccour, I was commanded by Colonel Venner, to deſire my Lord Grey to advance the horſe, to countenance the foot, which he did; but he was no ſooner paſſed me, than I found myſelf with my reſerve of foot which I commanded, engaged by ſome who fired at us out of windows. This occaſioned our breaking open the doors of the houſes, in which unhappy encounter, thoſe two gentlemen Mr. Strangeways and Mr. Coker loſt their lives. The latter was killed by Colonel Venner, after he had ſhot the Colonel into the belly; the other was ſlain by a muſketeer, as he was endeavouring to piſtol Captain Francis Goodenough, after, as we thought, he had taken quarter. After this was over, we advanced to the attack of the bridge, to the defence of which, the officers had with much ado prevailed with their ſoldiers to ſtand. Our foot fired one volley upon them, which they anſwered with another, and killed us two men of the foot; at which my Lord Grey with the horſe ran, and never turned face till they

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they came to Lyme, where they reported me to be ſlain, and all the foot to be cut off. This flight of Lord Grey ſo diſcouraged the van-guard of the foot, that they threw down their arms, and began to run; but I bringing up another body to their ſuccour, they were perſuaded to take their arms again, all but ſuch as ran into houſes for ſhelter, which were near ſixteen or ſeventeen. Colonel Venner being diſmayed by his wound received from Mr. Coker, commanded us to retreat, and would not ſuffer us to make a ſecond attack upon the bridge; and when he had ſo done, he mounted and followed my Lord Grey to Lyme, leaving us to retreat as we could. I drew off my guards on the croſs ſtreet, and cauſed my men to retreat to the firſt bridge we had poſſeſſed at the entrance into the town, and then ſtaying about half an hour, expected that the enemy would have attacked us, as we did them; not doubting, by an ambuſcade of muſketeers that we had near the bridge, to give them good entertainment; but they contented themſelves to repoſſeſs the middle of the town, and ſhout at us out of muſket-ſhot; we anſwered them alike, and by this bravo having a little eſtabliſhed the ſtaggering courage of our ſoldiers, we retreated in pretty good order, with twelve or fourteen priſoners, and about thirty horſe, ſending two or three Captains before with a party of muſkets to dreſs ſome ambuſhes in caſe we had been purſued; but we had no occaſion for that precaution.

When we were come within two miles of Lyme, we were met by the Duke at the head of a good body of horſe, to favour the retreat as he thought of his ſtraggling forces, but was ſurpriſed to ſee us marching in good order. He thanked me for bringing off his men, and demanded of me if it were true, as it was reported, that my Lord Grey ran away? I anſwered him, Yes; at which he ſeemed much ſurpriſed, yet nevertheleſs continued him in his command. We were much tired with our march, yet no ſooner a little refreſhed, but the Duke told me, I muſt be ready for the march early on the

the morrow morning, and ſaid that now Venner was wounded, he expected I ſhould take the charge of the regiment on myſelf; he likewiſe acquainted me, that he had intelligence of the Duke of Albemarle's march with the Devonſhire, and of the march of the Somerſetſhire forces, to coup him up; and unleſs he marched early the next morning, all was loſt. I took little reſt, being ſent by the Duke to fetch all the officers into the field, which I effected about two in the morning, and laid me down on the ground till three, when we had orders to beat the drums: I perceived that in my abſence the army was conſiderably increaſed; for on Monday, about ten o'clock, we marched out of Lyme near three thouſand ſtrong. I had the van-guard that day of the foot. JAMES II. 1685.

After we had marched about two hours towards Axminſter, we diſcovered, on one ſide, the march of the Devonſhire forces; on the other, of the Somerſetſhire; to a conjunction, as we ſuppoſed, in Axminſter; which cauſed us to double our march, that we might prevent it. The ſcouts of the Somerſetſhire forces had firſt entered the town, but on the approach of ours they retired. The Duke poſſeſſed himſelf of the town, and ſeized on the paſſes, regarding each army, which he guarded with cannon and muſketeers; the places, by reaſon of the thick hedges and ſtrait ways, being very advantageous for that purpoſe. I was poſted with the Duke's regiment regarding the Devonſhire forces, and had the German Gentleman, now a priſoner, joined to me by the Duke for my aſſiſtant on our ſide. The horſe of the Devonſhire forces advanced within half a quarter of a mile of our advanced poſt; but diſcovering that we had lined the hedges, they retreated. We advanced upon them, but the Duke came and commanded us back, telling us, that the Somerſetſhire forces were likewiſe retired on the other ſide; and ſaid it was not his buſineſs at preſent to fight, but to march on. So we drew off our parties from their poſts, and encamped in a ſtrong piece of ground

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on the other ſide of Axminſter towards Chard, putting out very ſtrong guards, where we lodged that night.

Tueſday. We marched early the next morning from thence to Chard, where we again encamped in a field near the town, and lay there all the night. There happened nothing very remarkable in this day's march, ſave that Mr. John Speake came in to us, with a company of ragged horſe, whoſe names I knew not, nor did not inquire, being a company of ordinary fellows. And here began the firſt propoſal of Mr. Ferguſon, to proclaim the Duke of Monmouth King; it was ſeconded by my Lord Grey, but eaſily ran down by thoſe that were againſt it. Here we likewiſe learnt, that the retreat of the Somerſetſhire forces was little better than a flight, many of the ſoldiers coats and arms being recovered and brought in to us.

Wedneſday. This day we marched to Ilminſter, and likewiſe encamped in a field about half a mile beyond the town; nothing at all happened remarkable in this day's march.

Thurſday. We marched to Taunton, and likewiſe encamped in a field near the town, and lay there all night, and the next day; when we were preſented with colours by the maids of Taunton, whoſe names I know not, but I ſuppoſe they cannot be wanting. This day the Duke had intelligence of the Duke of Albemarle having poſſeſſed himſelf of Wellington, a town within five miles of Taunton; which cauſed the Duke to make ſome ſmall entrenchments on the roads leading that way, and to put out ſtrong guards. I was commanded on the guard with the whole Duke's regiment, where I continued that night, and all the next day till evening, being Saturday, when I was diſcharged, and had quarters aſſigned me for the regiment. This was the firſt night we lay in beds, after our coming over. This evening we received orders for a march early the next morning.

During our abode in Taunton, I was called by the Duke to a council of war, being the firſt I believe that he held, doing all things

things before by his own judgment. It was propoſed, whether we ſhould march back and fight the Duke of Albemarle, or march on. And it was reſolved, we ſhould march on. He then took me and ſome others aſide, and perſuaded us, that we ſhould conſent to his being proclaimed King; alleging, that, according to the intelligence he had received, it was a great obſtruction to his affairs, and the only reaſon why the gentlemen of the country came not in to him, being all averſe to a Commonwealth; which, as he ſaid, they were all jealous we intended to ſet up; and promiſed us, that he would the next day ſet forth a proclamation, whereby he would make freſh promiſes to the people, of the liberties were promiſed them by his declaration. We ſubmitted to it, and it was done at the Market-croſs at Taunton, being read by Mr. Tily. The Duke's quarters in this town, was at Mr. Hooker's. During our ſtay here, we had ſlain Cornet Legg, in a horſe ſkirmiſh near the town. Sunday morning we marched to Bridgwater, having addition to our army of Lieutenant-colonel Baſſet's regiment of foot, which, the officers ſaid, conſiſted of eight hundred; to complete which, he had ſtolen from every regiment all the Taunton people that came to them at Lyme, being I ſuppoſe at leaſt two hundred; of Captain Slape's company of ſcythes, and muſketeers, being a hundred, which were added to the Duke's regiment; and of two troops of horſe, Captain Hooker's and Captain Tucker's, making near one hundred and ſixty. I know of nothing remarkable in this march, ſave that we had very good quarters at Bridgwater, and for the moſt part free. JAMES II. 1685.

Monday; we marched to Glaſtonbury, being an exceeding rainy day. We quartered our foot in the abbey and churches, making very great fires to dry and refreſh our men, and had proviſions from the Commiſſaries in our march. This day we were alarmed by a party of Lord Oxford's horſe; and on the other ſide had news, that the militia had left Wells, and were retreated to Bath and Briſtol.

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Tueſday; we marched to Shipton Mallet, and were quartered in houſes. Here the Duke told me of his intent to attack Briſtol, and that, on the Somerſetſhire ſide; and aſked my opinion therein. I informed him, that if it was in any part tenable, it was there; and therefore that, in my opinion, he ought to paſs the river Avon at Keynſham-bridge (which is the midway between Bath and Briſtol), and attack it on the Gloceſterſhire ſide, where there were many advantages not to be found on the Somerſetſhire ſide. He was ſatisfied with what I ſaid, and reſolved to do accordingly; ſo, in order to it, we marched next day (Wedneſday) to Pensford. We were all this day alarmed in the rear, by a party of horſe and dragoons; nevertheleſs we lodged quietly that night in Pensford, within five miles of Briſtol, where we met with nothing remarkable, but that we perceived a great fire in or near Briſtol that night. By the redneſs of the ſky, we ſuppoſed they had ſet the ſuburbs on fire, leſt we ſhould have poſſeſſed ourſelves of it; but it ſeems it was a ſhip accidentally ſet on fire.

Thurſday; early in the morning we marched towards Keynſham, the Duke having the night before ſent a troop of horſe under the command of Captain Tily, to poſſeſs themſelves of the town, and repair the bridge, which we had intelligence was broken down to prevent our paſſage. At Captain Tily's coming to the town, there was in it a troop of militia horſe of Gloceſterſhire, who at his approach immediately retired, and left behind them two horſes, and one of their party priſoner. By break of day the bridge was repaired, and we poſſeſſed ourſelves thereof about ten o'clock in the morning, marching over with our whole army; but it proving very rainy weather, and not far from the city of Briſtol, which we intended to fall upon that night, having thoſe in our camp that perfectly underſtood the city, we were ordered to march back again, and take up quarters in the town, as if we intended to lodge there all night. But we had hardly taken up our quarters, when we were

were alarmed by two parties of horſe, falling into the town at two ſeveral places, with whom our horſe unadviſedly engaged, and after the loſs of above fourteen of our own party, amongſt whom was Brand, Captain of horſe, they retired, leaving us three priſoners; from whom the Duke was informed, that the King's army being, as they ſaid, about four thouſand, was at hand. Upon which the Duke altered his reſolution of attacking Briſtol, and debated it with his officers, whether it was beſt to march forward to Gloceſter, and ſo breaking down the bridge there over Severn, and keeping the river on our flank, to march into Shropſhire and Cheſhire, where he ſuppoſed he had friends to join him; or to march into Wiltſhire, where, he was informed by Mr. Adlam, who had come to him the day before, was a conſiderable body of horſe would join him. The arguments againſt the march to Gloceſter were, that it was four days march; that our ſoldiers wanted ſhoes; that there was a conſiderable body of horſe and dragoons in our rear, who would be continually retarding our march, till the foot came up, and would neceſſitate us to fight before we could reach Gloceſter; that Wiltſhire was near at hand, and that it would be better to march thither, and having joined thoſe horſe, to fight before the King's army grew ſtronger. The latter advice prevailed; ſo we marched away that night, and the next morning, being Friday, we drew up before Bath, and ſummoned it only in bravado, for we had no expectation of its ſurrendry; and from thence we marched to Philip's Norton, where we lodged that night, the foot all in the field. Here the Duke was very diſconſolate, and began to complain, that all people had deſerted him; for there was no appearance of the Wiltſhire horſe Mr. Adlam talked of, although we were near enough to have joined them, if they had had any ſtomach to it. Indeed the Duke was ſo dejected, that we could hardly get orders from him. We lay all in the field this night at the head of our men, and were ſeveral times alarmed, but not in earneſt, till the morning, being Saturday,

when

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when we were fallen upon by the avaunt guard of the King's army, juſt as we were marching out of town. There is a long lane that leads out of a ploughed field into the town, being near a quarter of a mile long; on each ſide, the encloſures are ſurrounded with good thick hedges. At the end of this lane, the Duke had cauſed a barricade to be made acroſs the way, for the ſecurity of his quarters, which was guarded by fifty muſketeers commanded by Captain Vincent. Juſt by this barricado, was a little bye-way, which led into the back part of the town, through a gentleman's court, near to which court the foot were encamped in two fields. The grenadiers, which were the forlorn hope of the King's army, advanced through the lane up to the barricade, which the Duke having notice of, cauſed his own regiment of foot to march through the gentleman's court, up to the ſide of the lane, and attack them on the flank, which was done; and the regiment being much ſuperior in number, we fell with a good part of them into their rear; ſo that they were ſurrounded on all hands, ſave the left flank, by which way, through the hedge, many of them eſcaped. While we were thus engaged with the grenadiers in the lane, Lieutenant-colonel Holmes was commanded to attack a party of foot who had lined the hedge that flanked us, which he did; and after about an hour's diſpute, having made them retire from hedge to hedge, he gained the furthermoſt hedge next the field; the King's foot, together with a party of horſe that had likewiſe entered the lane, retiring to the King's army, who were drawn up in the ploughed field, about five hundred paces from the hedge. We having gained the hedges next the field, drew up all our foot, ranging in one line all along the hedge, our horſe behind them; and drew up two pieces of cannon into the mouth of the lane, and guarded them with a company of ſcythemen; our remaining two were planted on a little eminence on the right ſide of the lane. The King's cannon were likewiſe drawn up in oppoſition to ours, and ſo they began to cannonade one another, which laſted

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laſted near ſix hours without any great loſs of either ſide; on ours we loſt only one man by the cannon.

Towards the evening, colonel Venner had perſuaded the Duke (againſt all reaſon) to retreat; but it coming to a debate, it was reſolved to the contrary, and reſolutions taken to cut paſſages through the hedges, and come to a battle; but while we were doing it, the King's army retreated, and we had no mind to purſue them, becauſe we had no manner of confidence in our horſe. In this action we computed the loſs on the King's ſide, to be about eighty men; on ours, about eighteen, amongſt which, were two Captains of foot, Patchall, and young Holmes, both of Colonel's Holmes's regiment. Blake, Colonel Holmes's Lieutenant, and Chaddock, a Captain of horſe, killed unfortunately by our own men. We ſtaid in the field till about 11 o'clock at night, and then leaving great fires, we marched (I ſuppoſe by the advice of Colonel Venner) to Froome, in a miſerable rainy night, up to the knees in dirt, almoſt to the deſtruction of our foot. We came to Froome about eight in the morning being Sunday, where we put our men into quarters, and ſtaid there all that day and the next, to refreſh our men. Here the Duke was very diſconſolate, complaining that all people had deſerted him; that nobody ſtirred any where to make a diverſion; that not one of the horſe talked of by Mr. Adlam appeared; that he was likewiſe diſappointed in the deſertion he expected from the King's forces; and that this muſt of neceſſity come to ruin. And therefore he thought it adviſable to leave his army, and repair with his officers to ſome ſea-port town, and make his eſcape with them beyond ſea. This was mightily applauded by Colonel Venner, but my Lord Grey and others oppoſed it, as a thing ſo baſe, that it could never be forgiven by the people, to be ſo deſerted, and that the Duke muſt never expect more to be truſted. At length it was laid aſide, and reſolutions were taken by him to ſtick by his army;

JAMES II. 1685. nevertheleſs Colonel Venner, and Major Parſons, Holmes's Major, went away privately.

Monday night; the Duke gave orders for a march on Tueſday morning, and it was intended for Warminſter; but on Tueſday morning we had intelligence of a double nature. On the one hand, that the King's army were marched early that morning from Bradford to Weſtbury, and ſo croſſed our march to Warminſter; on the other hand, a Quaker, whoſe name I know not, that had formerly been with the Duke at Glaſtonbury, to inform him of a great club army that were up in the marſhes in Somerſetſhire, about Axbridge, came now again to the Duke, and acquainted him, that they were ten thouſand ſtrong, and that, if the Duke would retire towards them, they would join him. This prevailed with the Duke to order his march to Shipton Mallet, where we came that night, and were quartered in houſes here; I ſuppoſe we were at free quarters, money being ſhort. The next morning we marched to Wells, on information that there were ſome carriages left there of the King's, guarded by a ſmall party of dragoons, which we took; and quartered there all night.

Thurſday morning, we marched towards Bridgwater, thinking to meet with the great club army, which proved to be about one hundred and ſixty, inſtead of ten thouſand. We lay in the moor all night, and marched next day, being Friday, to Bridgwater, to refreſh our men, and fix our arms, which were very much out of order, ſending warrants before, to ſummon in the country people with ſpades and pick-axes to work, as if we intended to fortify. Something of that nature was done, but only to ſecure our quarters, and amuſe the world, intending nothing leſs than to ſtay there. Saturday was ſpent in exerciſing our men, and fixing our arms. This day great numbers went from us to Taunton to ſee their friends, and returned, for the moſt part, again on Sunday. Sunday morning, the Duke received an account of the march of the King's army from Somerton, and therefore prepared

prepared himſelf to march from them, which he did intend to do the evening following, and to march all night to Axbridge; and from thence, paſſing Keynſham bridge, to march to Glouceſter, and ſo paſſing the Severn, to take the formerly intended courſe into Shropſhire and Cheſhire. Our carriages were loaded in order to it; but in the afternoon, about three o'clock, having an account of the poſture of the King's army in Sedgemore, that the foot were encamped in the field, the horſe going into the villages to quarter; that all the cannon were drawn up againſt the way to Bridgwater; and that we might march upon them another way, and avoid their cannon; he called the field officers together, and demanded of them, if they thought it was adviſable to fight, if we could ſurpriſe them in the night? They all agreed it was, provided the foot did not entrench. Upon which he ſent back the ſpy that brought him the account, to ſee if they entrenched or not. who brought anſwer, That they did not; but took no notice of the ditch that lay in the way of our march. About eleven o'clock that night, we marched out of the town. I had the vanguard of the foot, with the Duke's regiment; and we marched in great ſilence along the road that leads from Bridgwater to Briſtol, until we came to the lane that paſſed into the moor where the King's army was. Then we made a halt for the horſe to paſs by, and received our orders; which were, that the horſe ſhould advance firſt, and puſh into the King's camp, and mixing with the King's foot, endeavour to keep them from coming together; that the cannon ſhould follow the horſe, and the foot the cannon, and draw all up in one line, and ſo finiſh what the horſe had begun, before the King's horſe or cannon could get in order. The horſe advanced to the ditch and never farther; but on the firing of ſome of the King's foot, ran out of the field. By that time our foot came up, we found our horſe all gone, and the King's foot in order. I advanced within thirty or forty paces of the ditch, being oppoſite to the Scotch battalion of the King's, as I learnt ſince; and

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there was forced to make a full ſtop, to put the battalion in ſome order; the Duke having cauſed them to march ſo exceeding ſwift after he ſaw his horſe run, that they were all in confuſion. By that time I had put them in ſome order, and was preparing to paſs the ditch (not intending to fire till I had advanced cloſe to our enemies) Colonel Matthews was come up, and began to fire at a diſtance; upon which the battalion I commanded fired likewiſe, and after that I could not get them to advance. We continued in that ſtation firing for about an hour and a half, when it being pretty light, I perceived all the battalions on the left, running (who, as I ſince underſtood, were broken by the King's horſe of the left wing), and finding my own men not inclinable to ſtand, I cauſed them to face about, and made a kind of diſorderly retreat to a ditch a great way behind us, where we were charged by a party of horſe and dragoons, and routed; above one hundred and fifty getting over the ditch. I marched with them on foot to Bridgwater, where I met with two or three full troops of horſe, that had run away out of the field, without ſtriking a ſtroke. I got my horſes; and with about twenty officers and others, amongſt which was Ferguſon, I went weſtward to meet two troops of horſe who were gone to Minehead, to fetch up ſix pieces of cannon, being Captain Hullin's and Captain Carey's troops. With part of them, amounting in all to near fifty, we went to Ilfracombe, and ſeized on a veſſel, which we victualled, and put to ſea, but were forced aſhore by two frigates cruiſing on the coaſt; after which we diſperſed and fled into the woods. I, for my part, was alone, from that time, to the time I was taken coming out of the houſe of John Birch in the pariſh of Brendin, in the county of Devon.

Thus I have given an account of what I can remember, which indeed amounts to little more than a journal of the marches and action of the army; it is the full of what I know. As to the perſons that advanced money, I know of none, nor have not heard of the name of any; for my part I was never with the Duke, but gene-

rally in the field, unleſs when I came for orders, or was at a council of war, which was very ſeldom; neither can I imagine the ſum received to be very great; for it may be demonſtrated that the whole expence of the Duke's army may be defrayed for 3000l.; nor did I ever hear that there was any ſum advanced towards it, but what was by ordinary and middle ſort of people. JAMES II. 1685.

As to the annuity of my Lord Stamford, granted to Colonel Romſey, I cannot ſay any thing poſitively to it. Such a rumour I have heard, but whether it were ſo in truth, or only money lent, I know not; it was tranſacted (if at all) while I was ſick at Briſtol.

I know nothing more of Sir William Ellis, than what I have related, having never been in the gentleman's company in my life, nor do I know him if I ſee him. I know nothing more of the Cheſhire affair, than what I have ſet down, only that aſking Captain Matthews, if the Cheſhire gentlemen would not ſtir? He anſwered, Yes ſurely; for he underſtood my Lord Delamere was gone into the country for that purpoſe.

The perſons to have gone into America were John Ayloffe, Roger a Quaker, myſelf, and Thomas Merry. The ſeven to have been concerned in the plantation as proprietors, Edmund Waller, Edward Norton, Richard Nelthorp, John Freke, Thomas Merry, Robert Weſt, William Penn, and ſeveral other Quakers.

The perſons of the King's Head Club I can at preſent remember are, John Trenchard, Henry Trenchard, John Ayloffe, Edward Norton, Richard Nelthorp, Richard Goodenough, Francis Goodenough, Robert Weſt, John Romſey, Robert Blaney, Thomas Dore, James Hooper, Thomas Hooper, Daniel Blake, Peter Warburton, John Freke, Edmund Waller, Carleton Whitlocke, Thomas Day, Joſeph Tily, John Rowe, —— Legg, Joſeph Aſhurſt, Chriſtopher Bettiſcombe, Zechariah Bourn, William Clark, —— Clerk, Hugh Speke, Charles Speke, Francis Trenchard, John Allen, Thomas Shadwell, Henry Baker, Charles Umphrevil, Aaron Smith, Henry

JAMES II. 1685. Starky, Hugh Weſtlake, —— Ogle, German Treton, Benjamin Rudyare, John Fanſhaw, Thomas Merry, —— Pratt, —— Munckton.

I forgot to mention that Mr. Hooke, the Duke's chaplain *, was ſent to London, to endeavour an inſurrection there, but from whence or when, I know not; for it was kept very ſecret, and it was ſometime before I miſſed him; and that Major Manley's ſon came to Bridgwater from London the Saturday before the battle at Weſton, and that he and his father went towards London that Saturday night, to endeavour a riſing. I think that it was Sir Robert Peyton that the Duke talked of, for Chief in London.

NATH. WADE.

* This gentleman, at different times, figured in very different characters. From an independent preacher, the Chaplain of Monmouth, and companion of his invaſion; he was metamorphoſed into a zealous partiſan of King James; and having followed him into exile, became an officer in the French army, in which ſervice he roſe to the rank of Lieutenant-general. In 1708, he was ſent by Lewis the Fourteenth, Plenipotentiary to the Jacobite party in Scotland; and the letters and memorials which paſſed during that negociation, were publiſhed ſome years ago.——See alſo, Lockhart's Memoirs, page 197.

No. VI.

Partition Treaty.

[The public is indebted for the following letters from King William to Penſionary Heinſius, to that worthy and able Miniſter the Greffiel Fagel, who is always ready and willing to aſſiſt the enquiries of his friends. Tranſlated from the Dutch.

Though the partition treaty (which proceeded originally from Lewis the Fourteenth) ended unfortunately, and diſpleaſed all parties, the diſintereſted and upright intentions of King William in promoting it, are ſufficiently apparent from theſe papers. Strong ſenſe, and an extenſive view of the intereſts of Europe, particularly thoſe of the countries he governed, are no leſs diſcernible, and will do honour to the memory of a Prince, who, with all his defects, deſerves the veneration of every good Engliſhman.

Lord Bolingbroke has, in the ſecond volume of his letters to Lord Cornbury, ſtated the difficulties, with which this project of a partition was attended, in a manner convincing in itſelf, and candid, indeed juſt, to King William's memory. To thoſe pages the Editor begs leave to refer the reader.

With regard to the conduct of Lewis the Fourteenth, there is reaſon to think, from lights which our anceſtors had not the benefit * of, that when he propoſed to Lord Portland, and, through Marechal Tallard, to King William, the idea of a partition, he was ſincere, and meant to avoid a war, in the decline of his life; but finding the Houſe of Auſtria obſtinately averſe to the project, and the Spaniards as obſtinate in their inclinations to keep the

* Mr. Torcy's Memoirs, and Harcourt's diſpatches. The latter, MSS.

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monarchy entire; the offer of ſo brilliant a ſucceſſion to a grandſon, was too hard for his good faith; and perhaps no prince of ambition would have been able to reſiſt the temptation.

If King William was guilty of any fault in the negociation, it was the relying too little on the ſentiments of his Engliſh miniſtry, and managing the treaty too much through private channels. However, the neceſſity of keeping the ſecret, and the fluctuating ſtate of parties at that time, will furniſh ſome apology for his conduct in that particular.]

Extracts from King William's Letters, relative to the Partition Treaty. To Penſionary Heinſius.

Kenſington, December 24, 1697. January 3, 1698.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your letters of the 27th and 31ſt of December. What the French ambaſſadors have ſaid to you, that ſomething muſt be done by the Republic, France, and me, towards maintaining the peace, ſurpriſes me much; and I am of opinion with you, that it relates to the guaranty between the Emperor, the empire, and us. The Earl of Portland will readily be able to get to the bottom of this affair in France; and this is a further reaſon for haſtening his departure as much as poſſible.

WILLIAM R.

Windſor, March 8-18, 1698.

I SEND you herewith, a letter I received yeſterday evening, by a courier from the Earl of Portland; you will judge of the great importance of the affair. I have writ to him, to keep this important negociation on foot, and to try to bring the French to

particulars, that one may then be the better able to judge what is poſſible to be done in this buſineſs. I beg you will write your ſentiments on this important affair, to the Earl of Portland, by a courier, that it may be done with ſecrecy, for you know of what conſequence it is. You will recollect the diſcourſe we had on this ſubject at Loo, and I believe alſo at the Hague. It will be neceſſary you ſhould write rather amply to the Earl of Portland, and ſend me a copy of the letter, for my information, and alſo return his to me, for you ſee I have not a copy of it.

WILLIAM R.

Incloſure.

HIER Meſſrs. de Pompone & de Torcy me vinrent voir, et me dirent, que c'étoit par ordre du Roi Tres-Chretien, pour me dire, qu'il vouloit bien ſe ſervir de moi dans une choſe de la plus grande importance, et qui demandoit le plus grand ſecret; qu'il me temoignoit avoir une entiere confidence en moi. Après que j'avois repondû comme je devois, Monſ. de Pompone dit que, comme les ſentimens du Roi ſon Maitre étoient ſinceres pour le maintien de la paix, et que l'on étoit entierement perſuadé que ceux de V. M. étoient de même, il falloit ſonger à ce qui en pourroit cauſer l'interruption, pour s'entendre à la prèvenir; que la mort du Roi d'Eſpagne, qui pourroit ſurvenir inopinement, et laquelle rameneroit les mêmes troubles, dont nous venions de ſortir, étoit de cette nature, que le Roi T. Chr. ſouhaitoit d'entrer avec V. M. dans les liaiſons qui pourroient prèvenir de ſi grands maux; que l'Eſpagne tombant entre les mains de l'Empereur, il ſe pourroit rendre maitre de toute l'Italie, et ſi abſolu dans l'Empire, que nous avions tout lieu de craindre ſa trop grande force; que pour cet effet, le Roi T. Chr. ſouhaitoit d'entrer en concert avec V. M. touchant la dite ſucceſſion, & ſouhaitoit de ſavoir ſi

elle

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elle inclinoit, et quelles conditions & ſuretés elle voudroit pour entrer. Je lui repondis, que j'etois ſurpris de la propoſition qu'il me faiſoit, quoique je ne pouvois pas manquer de conſiderer la mort du Roi d'Eſpagne, comme une choſe qui nous rejettoit indubitablement dans la guerre ; que cependant l'on regardoit cela comme un mal inévitable, et que l'on eſpéroit ſeulement que cela n'arriveroit pas ſitôt ; que je voyois l'interet de l'Angleterre & de la Hollande de s'oppoſer à un accommodement, tant à l'égard de la force de mer, que du commerce par tout le monde ; que je ne voiois pas, comment il etoit poſſible que V. M. peut faire aucune réponſe, qu'en general, ſur une telle propoſition, à moins que l'on ne me dit les ſentimens du Roi T. Chr. à l'égard des particularités de ce qu'il vouloit propoſer. Il me repondit, qu'il ne pouvoit pas entrer dans des particularités, tant que l'on ne ſavoit pas vos ſentimens en general, et qu'alors même il falloit ſavoir d'elle ce qu'elle jugeroit convenable, pour l'interet & la ſureté des deux nations. Je dis, que j'étois ſur, quand j'ecrivois à V. M. dans les termes generaux, dans leſquels il me parloit, que je ne pouvois attendre tout au mieux d'autre réponſe, ſinon qu'elle vouloit bien écouter ce qu'on lui propoſoit. Et comme je vis enfin, que je ne pouvois pas en tirer davantage, je lui dis, comme par diſcours, mes ſentimens particuliers, et tout ce que je croiois qui pourroit etre contre notre intérêt ; ce que je ne répéterai pas, pour éviter la longueur de ma lettre. A quoi il me répondit que, pour ce qui étoit des Païs-bas, l'on en conviendroit aiſément, de maniere que l'on en ſeroit ſatisfait, comme V. M. le ſouhaiteroit ; que pour l'Eſpagne méme, l'on donneroit des ſuretés ſuffiſantes, qu'elle ne viendroit jamais ſous la domination d'un meme Roi avec la France ; mais pour les Indes, ni la ſureté du commerce de la Mediterranée, ſur leſquelles deux choſes je touchai beaucoup, il ne me répondit rien, demandant ſeulement que je vouluſſe rendre compte à V. M. de ce qu'il m'avoit propoſé et déclaré des ſentimens du Roi ſon maitre,

tre, et d'être informé des votres, ſire. Je n'ai pas voulu dire rien, qui pouvoit aucunement faire juger que ce fuſſent les intentions de V. M. particulierement, quand on ne ſauroit que ſi peu ou point. C'eſt pourquoi j'attendrai pour ſavoir la volonté de V. M. ſur la choſe même, & la conduite qu 'elle veut que je tienne ; et cependant, ſi j'en ai l'occaſion, je parlerai encore en diſcours à Monſieur de Pompone, pour l'engager à lui faire découvrir ſes ſentimens un peu plus. Je ſupplie V. M. de pardonner les fautes de ma lettre, qui n'eſt pas d'une nature à la faire voir à ame qui vive de mes gens, et que j'ai à peine le tems de relire, bien moins d'en tirer les minutes, parceque M. le Daufin m'a envoyé chercher pour aller tout preſentement à la chaſſe avec lui, ce que je n'ai pas voulu excuſer, ni ne puis remettre plus tard. Je m'en vais monter en caroſſe, pour aller à Meudon. Le Comte de Tallard part aujourdhui ; je crois que l'on a attendu exprès ſi longtems à me parler de ceci, pour ſe pouvoir ſervir de lui dans cette affaire, en cas que l'on ne ſe trouve pas ſatisfait de moi ; quoique la roideur que j'ai marqué ſur toutes les difficultés que l'on m'a faites, ſoit approuveé de tout le monde à la cour, et que l'on rejette toute la faute ſur les introducteurs que M. meme traite d'ignorans et d'impertinens, l'on juge peut-être de moi, que je ne me laiſſerai pas mener dans les choſes, où mon peu de tems me peut faire voir, que je ne trouverai pas le ſervice de V. M. ni l'interets des deux nations. Je la ſupplie de croire, que jeſuis toujours à elle avec le meme zele & reſpect.

Paris,
le 15 Mars 1698.

PORTLAND.

WILLI
1698.

Kenſington, March 15-25, 1698.

I DID not write to you laſt poſt for want of matter. I have ſince received your letter of the 18th inſtant, and thereby learn with great ſorrow the King of Spain's indiſpoſition. Should he chance to die now, the accident could never happen at a more unlucky conjuncture. You will have learnt by my former letter the buſineſs in which the Earl of Portland is concerned, and I am impatient for your remarks upon it. Should this death take place ſoon, there is nothing to be expected from this negociation. The invincible difficulties that appear in the thing itſelf; the unprepared ſtate the allies are in to begin a war; and the bad ſituation of Spain, make me ſhudder when I conſider the affair; for certainly France is in a condition to take poſſeſſion of that monarchy, before we ſhall be able to concert meaſures to oppoſe it. The conſtitution here is ſuch, that I ſhall be able to contribute little towards the land-forces, but I may do ſomething towards the Marine; for the people here will, I believe, be inclinable to it, though we ſhall have great want of money. I am of your opinion, that all poſſible meaſures ſhould be taken with the allies, to guard againſt ſo unforeſeen an accident, but it ought to be done with precaution, on account of France; and I do not know but it would be proper at this time, to aſſemble a kind of Congreſs at the Hague again; or it might be better to negociate this matter at Vienna, though here I ſee great difficulties on account of the diſtance: however, I think it will be the propereſt place, and in that caſe, expert miniſters muſt be ſent thither, as alſo to Madrid. It will alſo be neceſſary to give encouragement on all ſides to remain armed. I wiſh I could do ſo too; but I ſee little appearance of it.

WILLIAM R.

Windſor, April 1ſt, March 21ſt, 1698.

I DID not write to you laſt poſt for want of matter. I have ſince received your letters of the 21ſt and 25th of March, together with a copy of the letter you have written to the Earl of Portland; in which I think you have explained this important matter to him; and have certainly ſaid every thing that can be of any conſideration. It remains now to be ſeen whether the French will proceed to particulars, which I doubt, and ſtill more how it will be poſſible to find means to bring this important negociation to a good concluſion; for our intereſts are ſo different, that I ſcarce ſee a poſſibility of reconciling them. Beſides, the greateſt hardſhip that appears to me in this buſineſs, is, the little reliance to be made on engagements with France; and her power will be thereby ſo much the more conſiderable, that ſhe will be at liberty to pay juſt as much regard to the treaties as may ſuit her convenience, of which we have had but too much experience. On the other hand, I do not ſee a poſſibility of preventing France from putting herſelf in immediate poſſeſſion of the monarchy of Spain, in caſe the King ſhould happen to die ſoon. However, nothing elſe can be done than to take all thoſe meaſures you mention; and principally we muſt labour to bring the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria to an agreement with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, otherwiſe it will be impoſſible for us to take meaſures right. What Bonrepos has ſaid to you relative to the marine in France, and of their being willing to engage not to equip, in caſe England and Holland did the ſame, is mere ſpeculation. For our part, we ſhall do nothing extraordinary, nor other than is uſual in time of peace, viz. ſend a ſmall ſquadron into the Mediterranean, and one to the Weſt Indies. I know of no equipment in Holland, and he muſt know the ſame; ſo that France can form no pretext of equipment, which you may take an opportunity to inſinuate to Bonrepos. It would

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not, however, be improper for Holland to be ſo far prepared as to be able to equip ſuddenly in caſe of need. What Lelienroth has communicated to you of Sweden's intention to renew the treaty with France, does not pleaſe me much, though I had expected it. It is certain, that Crown is taking meaſures with both parties, in order to remain, as it were, neuter. The propoſition you have made Straetman, with regard to the accommodation in the affair of Schonenberg, is much to my mind; I ſhall talk in the ſame ſtrain to Averſberg.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, April 8th, March 29th, 1698.

I RECEIVED your letter of laſt Friday ſo late, that I was not then able to anſwer it. Since then, yours of the 1ſt and 4th of April are come to hand. I find your thoughts entirely occupied with the great ſtorm which ſeems to hang over our heads by the likelihood of the King of Spain's death. I think you perfectly comprehend this affair, and I ſhould conform myſelf alſo thereto. I only wiſh my power was ſuch as that I could properly ſecond your hearty ſentiments. As far as I can penetrate into the opinions of moſt people here, there ſeems ſo great an averſion to fall again into a war at preſent, that, ſhould France make any kind of plauſible propoſals of accommodation, they will here be inclined to accept them, without conſidering much the ſecurity of them; ſo that, in caſe a war is to be the upſhot of the buſineſs, I muſt take my meaſures ſo as to bring this nation inſenſibly into it. What I can do at preſent is, to augment the ſquadron I had deſtined for the Mediterranean, and haſten its departure as much as poſſible. I am alſo reſolved, beſides the ſhips I had deſtined for the Weſt Indies, to cauſe thoſe to remain till further orders, that are there; which will make a conſiderable

ſquadron,

ſquadron, of which I will ſend you a liſt. I have alſo thoughts of ſending four or five regiments to Jamaica, under pretence of defending the plantations in thoſe parts. I hope to find money for it, which is the grand difficulty of all. Theſe men being there at hand, you will eaſily judge, that, in caſe of neceſſity, they may make themſelves maſters of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, without France's being able to hinder them. I believe alſo I ſhall be able, at leaſt for ſome time, to put off any further reduction of troops. This is the utmoſt it will be in my power to do in the preſent conjuncture, the reſt muſt be done by the States and other allies; and it is certain that the Republic muſt begin and lead the dance. In caſe this misfortune ſhould happen ſoon, we muſt not flatter ourſelves that France will give us the leaſt time to interpoſe as mediators or otherwiſe, in order to accommodate the claimants; nor do I believe that any thing further will come than what has already been offered to the Earl of Portland, for that agrees with Bonrepos's language; and as Palmquiſt is acquainted with the affair, the negociation will not long remain ſecret; nor do I believe the French deſire it ſhould, but mean by their offers to blind people, both here and in Holland, and to gain, by a plauſible pretext, thoſe who fear a war, rather to accept whatever conditions ſhould be offered, than to come to one. And in this I am as apprehenſive for the Amſterdamers, as I am for the Houſe of Commons here. It were to be wiſhed, that ſome meaſures could be taken with the northern Crowns on this occaſion; but I ſee little probability of it, particularly with Sweden. I intend, however, to ſpeak with the Ambaſſador on the ſubject. We muſt alſo ſee what is to be expected from Portugal, who is ſo greatly intereſted. It will be neceſſary to haſten Mr. Hop's journey to Vienna. I am embaraſſed whom to ſend thither, but were Hop there, it would be enough for the preſent.

WILLIAM. 1698.

WILLIAM R.

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Kenſington, April 1ſt-11th, 1698.

LAST Tueſday's poſt is not yet arrived; we may probably have it to-morrow, the wind having been favourable yeſterday. I find people begin here more and more to fear the death of the King of Spain, being perſuaded it will draw on a war; to which they, in that caſe, ſeem reſolved; but would contribute little or nothing except to the marine, and leave the war by land to the Republic and the other allies, which they would not carry through; though, on the other hand, I ſee no likelihood of bringing the Parliament to give money ſufficient to keep ſo conſiderable a body of troops in the Spaniſh Netherlands as I had the laſt war: and without that I ſee no poſſibility of defending them. Count Tallard has had a private audience of me to-day, and made the ſame propoſitions Pompone and Torçy have done to the Earl of Portland, of which you are undoubtedly informed. I told him the affair was of too delicate and important a nature to be able to give any anſwer to theſe propoſitions, or for me to make any, as he deſired, ſeeing that I and the Republic are in alliance with the Princes intereſted in the ſucceſſion; but that I was willing to enter into *a diſcuſſion* with him, on the ſubject, without engaging for any thing. We had therefore a very long converſation on this important matter, and much reaſoning on both ſides; and I gave to underſtand, that I foreſaw no accommodation, unleſs at leaſt all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in Italy ſhould be ceded to the Emperor, and the Spaniſh Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria, not in the condition they now are, but a ſtronger and greater barrier, which might be diſcuſſed hereafter; for us, ſome ports in the Mediterranean, and in the Weſt Indies, for the ſecurity of our commerce, and a regulation for the commerce of both nations. This is in brief what paſſed in the converſation, of which he will not fail to make a report; and I have no doubt but he will ſpeak to me farther. I have acquainted the Earl of Portland with

it. I think I have not enlarged too much on it, and I have certainly engaged for nothing. WILLIAM. 1698.

WILLIAM R.

Newmarket, April 6-16th, 1698.

I CAME here laſt Monday evening to divert myſelf for ten or twelve days. I received your letter of the 8th before I left Kenſington, and to-day that of the 11th inſtant. You will have ſeen, by my preceding letter what I ſhall be able to do, in caſe of the ſudden death of the King of Spain, to which I know nothing to add. I ſee Bonrepos is for proceeding with you with much *fineſſe*, as is his way, but Tallard has ſpoken much plainer to me, of which I gave you a brief account in my laſt. I do not doubt but I ſhall hear further from him at my return to Kenſington, and in a few days from the Earl of Portland, from whom I yeſterday received a letter dated the 9th, the day after his return from paying a viſit to the Prince of Vaudemont, on his paſſage through France; he therefore had not yet ſeen any of the Miniſters, but expected to do it the next day, ſo that I hourly expect letters from his Excellency; though I am very much perſuaded that the French will not explain themſelves further, or make other propoſitions than thoſe they have made, and will not at all reliſh the converſation I had with Tallard, and conſequently I look upon this negociation as nearly at an end. As the affair now ſtands, I think it lucky that we have no further engagement with the Emperor about the ſucceſſion; and that it is queſtionable whether the Grand Alliance ſubſiſts or not; for I am much afraid that, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould now happen to die ſuddenly, we ſhould be obliged to come to an accommodation; as I do not ſee how, in the preſent ſituation, we ſhould ſoon be able to put ourſelves in a condition to withſtand the too great power of France.

I am

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I am much pleaſed with the meaſures you think may and ought now to be taken, and wiſh they may be ſet about; as on my ſide I ſhall do. But I think we ſhould be very cautious about engaging ourſelves further with the Emperor, for he is ſo much intereſted in this affair, that it will always depend upon us to engage ourſelves juſt ſo far as the occaſion and our intereſt ſhall require; and ſhould we do it before-hand, by a formal convention or treaty, we ſhould find our hands ſo bound as to be obliged to obſerve it implicitly, without any conſideration to our ſituation or intereſt at the time.

WILLIAM R.

Newmarket, April 13th-23d, 1698.

ACCORDING to the laſt letters I have received here from the Earl of Portland of the 17th inſtant, he had an audience of the King of France, who, being informed of the diſcourſe I had had with Tallard, gave to underſtand, that it would be reaſonable to ſatisfy the Emperor in Italy, and to increaſe the barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands. This is farther than I thought the French would have advanced at firſt. The Earl of Portland was to have another audience the next day, and thought he ſhould then be able to write more particulars, which I hourly expect. Count Tallard is alſo come hither to-day, probably to ſpeak with me, of which I will inform you by the next poſt.

WILLIAM R.

Since I wrote the above, Count Tallard has been with me, and after a long preface ſaid that, in conſequence of what he had written to his Court, relative to the converſation he had had with me, he had received orders to propoſe two alternatives, towards a treaty or alliance, to be entered into in caſe of the King of Spain's death.

The

The one, that the Elector of Bavaria's ſon ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of Spain, with the Weſt Indies and the Spaniſh Netherlands in their preſent condition, except the Dutchy of Luxembourg which ſhould be granted to France; the Emperor ſhould have the Milaneſe, and one of the Dauphin's ſons the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the iſlands. The other, Spain and the Weſt Indies to one of the Dauphin's ſons; the kingdom of Naples, Scilly and the iſlands to the Emperor; the Milaneſe to the Duke of Savoy, and the Spaniſh Netherlands, in their preſent condition, to the Elector of Bavaria's ſon; and with this alternative we might expect ſome ports in the Mediterranean ſea, and alſo ſome iſlands in the Weſt Indies, but nothing upon the continent; ſaying this by way of diſcourſe; and that we muſt not expect France would ever conſent to any augmentation of the barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands. To all this I anſwered, that as it was an affair of great importance and delicacy, he muſt not think it ſtrange that I was not prepared to give him an anſwer; which, he ſaid, he could very well conceive, and did not expect any. I inſinuated, but by way of diſcourſe only, how neceſſary it was for our ſecurity that the barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands ſhould be augmented, but I was not able to make any farther progreſs. I alſo laughed with him at the idea of giving the Milaneſe to the Duke of Savoy. I think that, if this alternative is accepted, the French will not remain firm to it. I confeſs I had no idea they would have advanced ſo far, nor have offered ſo much in theſe times. You will be ſo good as caſt your thoughts upon this important negociation; and, as ſoon as you can, let me know your ſentiments how I ſhould act further. I have no doubt but the ſame propoſals have been made to the Earl of Portland, but they will probably have given time to Count Tallard to communicate them to me firſt; I therefore expect letters from the Earl of Portland every hour.

WILLIAM. 1698.

Newmarket, April 15-25th, 1698.

BY the laſt poſt I wrote you what had paſſed between Count Tallard and me. I have ſince received letters from the Earl of Portland of the 20th, together with this memorial, containing the two alternatives, which the King of France read over in his cabinet, and afterwards being read by Meſſieurs Pompone and Torcy, was copied word for word. You will ſee it to be the very ſame Count Tallard had ſaid to me, as the King of France told the Earl of Portland he had been ordered to do. I ſhall expect your ſentiments, with great impatience, how I ought to proceed, and what anſwer to give. I think much time ought not to be loſt in this negociation; for we ſhould be greatly embarraſſed, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die ſuddenly. It is certain that the Emperor is not to be moved by perſuaſion to accept either of theſe alternatives, ſo that he muſt be compelled. That which conſtitutes a French Prince King of Spain, is certainly the moſt advantageous to him; and I ſhould think France would agree to his having alſo the Milaneſe, inſtead of the Duke of Savoy. But the other, of acquiring the Milaneſe alone, out of all the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, will hardly be accepted. In my opinion, the alternative in favour of the Prince of Bavaria, is the beſt adapted to the general intereſt of Europe; but the ceſſion of the Dutchy of Luxembourg is extremely prejudicial to our ſecurity; and France has chiefly introduced it into this alternative, I think, to incline us to the other; in which I believe alſo we ſhould find our account in the article of commerce. For, when I told Tallard we muſt have ſome ports in the Mediterranean, and named Port Mahon, Oran and Ceuta; he ſaid, he had no particular orders to propoſe any, but thought expedients might be found, as alſo in the Weſt Indies, to give us ſome port in the iſlands, but not upon the continent, for in that caſe we ſhould at once become maſters of that commerce. And though he ſaid there was no probability whatever of extending and

augmenting

augmenting the barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands, yet I ſhould ſtill hope ſomething might be ſtipulated about it, in caſe the alternative which gives Spain to the Dauphin's ſon be accepted. I confeſs, that, every thing conſidered, it is very queſtionable which alternative to chuſe, and to negociate further thereon; but this is beyond a doubt, that when theſe offers of France are public in England and Holland, it will be difficult to get them to conſent to a war, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould happen to die now; ſo that meaſures muſt be taken in conſequence. As for the Elector of Bavaria, I think he may be brought to any thing, notwithſtanding the one alternative is ſo much more advantageous for him and his ſon, than the other.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, April 19-29th, 1698.

I SHALL ſay nothing to you at preſent about the great affair of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, as I wait with impatience for your anſwer to my letters from Newmarket; by which I informed you of the propoſals Count Tallard made me, as was alſo done to the Earl of Portland in France. I have learnt nothing more on this ſubject ſince, nor received any further letters from France. I muſt, however, juſt ſay, that you muſt not expect I can agree to any other meaſures, or contribute any thing beyond what I mentioned in my laſt. For, agreeably to this conſtitution, it is impoſſible to get the Parliament to conſent to grant any money on an uncertainty, or for a future time; ſo that I can do nothing relative to that; and God knows whether I ſhall not be obliged to reduce more troops, conformably to the firſt idea of Parliament. Should this great negoci-

WILLIAM. 1698.

ation go forward, I think Mr. Hop's inſtructions muſt be upon quite another footing than at firſt.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, April 22d, May 2d, 1698.

LAST Tueſday's letters from Holland are not yet arrived. I expect them with great impatience, and hope to receive your anſwers to my letters from Newmarket, concerning the great affair of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, about which I have learnt nothing further; probably they wait in France for my anſwer. Since the news came that the King of Spain is better, people here begin to lay aſide their fears again, and think there is nothing more to be apprehended. It is inconceivable the humour of this nation, and how little certain meaſures can be taken with them.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, April 26th, May 6th, 1698.

YESTERDAY, and the day before, I received your letters of April 29th, and May 2d. I think you reaſon very well about the great and delicate negociation of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. I intend to ſpeak to Count Tallard about it to-morrow or after-to-morrow, in conformity to your ſentiments; and I hope to receive letters from the Earl of Portland in the interim. I really think France will not be ſo bent upon the form, but will not recede from inſiſting on our engaging ourſelves poſitively with them; which appears to be very natural; for without that, they cannot engage themſelves with us. It will be a very difficult and delicate buſineſs how to communicate this negociation to the Emperor, as it is known before-hand, that he

he will never accede to it, nor accept either of the alternatives, particularly the one; and moreover, he will pretend we are already engaged to him. So that it merits reflexion whether one ought not to be almoſt agreed with France about the conditions, before it be communicated to the Emperor; as I do not know why it ſhould be done ſooner, being aſſured the Emperor will not accede, however it may be. And beſides, it may be that France would agree to give us better conditions before, than after it is communicated to the Emperor; for, in the latter caſe it may be, that they will make it a point of honour not to give way in any thing, as you know they have done upon all occaſions. It is certain, that whatever method we adopt in this buſineſs, we ſhall exaſperate the Emperor to the utmoſt; and muſt look upon him in future as an enemy, if we make any agreement or convention with France whatever, about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. With reſpect to the conditions thereof, I am fully perſuaded France covets that alternative, by which a ſon of the Dauphin is to have Spain and the Weſt Indies, and will lean towards that, when we get farther into the negociation, and endeavour to make the other inadmiſſible, though it is certainly the moſt advantageous for the tranquillity of Europe. It will be neceſſary that you ſhould inform yourſelf underhand, of the importance of the commerce of the Republic, as well in the Mediterranean as in the Weſt Indies. I ſhall do the ſame here; but I do not intend to communicate this negociation to any one till the Earl of Portland's return; and then perhaps only after the breaking up of the Parliament. My Ambaſſador Williamſon, will receive orders by this poſt to conclude with Lelienroth, in concert with you, conformably to what you tranſmitted to me. I find Count Bonde has ſome knowledge of it, and is diſcontented, that this negociation does not paſs through his hands here.

WILLIAM R.

WILL'AM. 1698.

Windſor, May 9th, April 29th, 1698.

YESTERDAY, before I left Kenſington, I had a long converſation with Count Tallard; in which I told him, I had maturely conſidered the propoſals he had made me; and, on account of the great deſire I had to ſee the peace of Europe preſerved, without aſſuming to myſelf to judge of another's right, I thought there were materials in the ſaid propoſals to negociate upon; but that I was greatly embarraſſed as to the form. For I did not think it decent to do it without a previous communication to the Emperor, having been his ally ſo long. And I aſked him, Whether he had any orders about that, or if he knew his Maſter's intentions? He ſaid, he did not, but would write about it: that, for his part, he did not ſee to what purpoſe a previous communication ſhould be made, being well aſſured it would not be accepted, but would diſguſt that Court. I replied, It was to be done, however, one time or other. He thought it would be beſt when we were agreed about the conditions, or to keep it ſecret till the caſe happened, which I think is impoſſible. Reaſoning further on the ſubject, I ſaid I thought the alternative of the electoral Prince of Bavaria's having Spain, the Weſt Indies, and the Netherlands, would beſt ſuit us, but that we ſhould never conſent to diſmembering the Dutchy of Luxembourg from it, but that it ſhould remain for a barrier as at preſent (to which he ſaid little) but that, as the Emperor was only to have the Milaneſe by this alternative, I thought this portion too ſmall, and that ſomething more muſt be added. He ſaid, he did not ſee it was. With reſpect to the other alternative, in caſe it took place, I mentioned our having ſome places of ſecurity in the Mediterranean and the Weſt Indies, and the barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands augmented and made better, becauſe nothing could in this caſe come from Spain for the defence of that country; and that the Milaneſe ſhould go to the Emperor, and not to the Duke of Savoy. He did

not enter into much debate, ſaying he did not know which of theſe alternatives it was the King his Maſter's intention to prefer, but in the way I had ſtated it, the firſt was certainly more preferable; namely, that Spain ſhould go to the houſe of Bavaria. In the whole of his diſcourſe he ſhewed great eagerneſs to bring this negociation to an end; and concluded with ſaying, he would acquaint his Maſter by a courier of what had paſſed, and would communicate to me his anſwer. I told him, I had hitherto communicated this affair to you only. I have, to my great aſtoniſhment, received no letters from the Earl of Portland ſince April 25th; and laſt Tueſday's letters from Holland are not yet arrived.

WILLIAM R.

Windſor, May 3d-13th, 1698.

BY laſt Tueſday's poſt, I wrote you the converſation I had had with Count Tallard. I have ſince received your letters of the 6th and 9th inſtant. I do not differ much from your ſentiments about that important buſineſs. It will be very difficult to manage this negociation like the ſecret one at the making of the peace, as I can ſcarce believe that France will agree to that. We ſhall ſoon ſee, when Count Tallard receives an anſwer. I was wiſhing you would draw up a ſketch of a convention, in form of articles, in caſe we ſhould come to an agreement with France about that great work; and though it ſeems ſomewhat premature, yet there is no harm in it, and it might probably give one ſome *eclairciſſement*.

I will ſend full powers to my Ambaſſador Williamſon; in the mean time, however, he may conclude and ſign the convention with Lelienroth; and though in itſelf it is not much, yet I think it is no bad ſtep to treat with Sweden. I think the Republic ſhould not be too complaiſant to France on the ſubject of commerce, particularly

WILLIAM. 1698.

cularly in what is ſtipulated by the treaty of peace; but it merits conſideration whether we ſhould immediately agree to the payment of their merchandiſe; though I am inclined to think with you, that we ſhould in ſome degree. I find alſo, by the Earl of Portland's letters, that he is of opinion the Republic ſhould remain firm by the treaty, of which probably Nieuport has informed you.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, May 6-16th, 1698.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 13th, and much approve the manner and form you think moſt proper to proceed in, in this important negociation; and I will make uſe of it when Count Tallard ſpeaks to me again on the ſubject, which will probably be in a few days, when he has received an anſwer from his Court.

I have nothing further to add at preſent, and ſhall wait to learn, by the next poſt, what has been concluded with Lelienroth.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, May 10th-20th, 1698.

YESTERDAY, I received your's of the 16th. I have not hitherto any further anſwer from Count Tallard, nor any letter from the Earl of Portland, at which I wonder much. I begin to ſuſpect that the French are for training on this important negociation. So long as it is protracted on one ſide or the other, it will not, in my opinion, be adviſable that the Elector of Bavaria ſhould ſend any body to Vienna, though the Imperialiſts would be glad of it at preſent, as Count Averſberg has told me, and requeſted I would co-

operate

operate towards it. He told me, at the ſame time, there were now aſſurances from Spain, that the King's will was in favour of the Arch-Duke, and that promiſe had been made to old Count Harrach, to give him an authentic copy of it, to bring with him to the Emperor; which is directly contrary to what the Elector of Bavaria thinks he is aſſured of, that the will is in favour of his ſon. I think little reliance is to be had on either; but this is certain, that as long as this negociation is training on with France, it is better there ſhould be no convention made between the Emperor and Bavaria, relative to the ſucceſſion. WILLIAM. 1698.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, May 13-23d, 1698.

YESTERDAY, Count Tallard had a long audience of me, and propoſed a new alternative, viz. that the Spaniſh Netherlands ſhould be ceded to the Emperor or the Arch-Duke, together with the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; the Milaneſe to the Elector of Bavaria's ſon; and Spain and the Indies, to one of the Dauphin's ſons, as in the preceding one. I anſwered him, that this propoſal pleaſed me leſs than the former, and I did not think it our intereſt to have the Emperor for a neighbour. He thereupon ſaid, the Emperor might have the Milaneſe, and the Elector of Bavaria's ſon the Spaniſh Netherlands; but proteſted that this propoſal was merely his own, and that he had no orders for it. We then got into a long reaſoning upon the whole buſineſs, which would be too long to relate, and is not material; but I concluded with ſaying, that I thought there would be leſs difficulty on our ſide, in agreeing on that alternative, by which Spain, the Indies, and the Spaniſh Netherlands, were to come to the Elector of Bavaria's ſon, than to any other; for the principal difference appeared to me to be, whether

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ther the Duchy of Luxembourg ſhould be diſmembered, to which we could never agree; and that the other alternative would bring us into infinite difficulties how to ſecure our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Weſt Indies. He extolled much the importance of Luxembourg for France (which I could eaſily refute) and inſiſted that the Dauphin's portion, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, was too ſmall. I replied, That it was ſo conſiderable, when added to the great power of France, that it might make the whole world tremble; and, in ſhort, I perſiſted in what I had ſaid, in the preceding audience, of which I have given you an account. With regard to the form, we both agreed it was too early to inform the Imperial court of this negociation, till we were agreed about the principal conditions. He ſaid, he would give the King his maſter a ſuitable account of our converſation, and communicate to me his anſwer. I had received letters the preceding evening from the Earl of Portland, who had had a private audience of the King of France; who had ſaid the very ſame as Count Tallard, and read over the letter he meant to write him, and notified his intention to offer the King of Spain aſſiſtance for Oran and Ceuta, in ſhips, galleys or troops; and that he gave us information of it, in order that we might take no umbrage, nor be alarmed; for he had no other intention, than to prevent theſe places from falling into the hands of the Moors. I therefore told Count Tallard, I could not help ſaying, this offer would certainly alarm us, but I hoped this aſſiſtance was not intended to be forced upon the Spaniards; he ſaid, it was not. I replied, That I ſcarce believed Spain would accept theſe offers. This circumſtance appears ſuſpicious, and merits reflection, what further meaſures it may be neceſſary to take.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM. 1698.

Kenſington, May 17-27th, 1698.

NOTHING has happened ſince my laſt, relative to the great work of the negociation concerning the ſucceſſion. I think the regulating and ſecuring of the commerce, as well in the Mediterranean as in the Weſt Indies, will be of infinite difficulty; and I find myſelf but little inſtructed in what Secretary de Wilde has ſaid to you on this matter; and even were one agreed with France about it, I do not well ſee how to reconcile the intereſts of England and the Republic, which will be no ſmall difficulty.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, June 3, May 24, 1698.

I DID not write to you by the laſt poſt for want of matter; I have ſince received your's of the 26th and 30th of May. I will not write much at preſent concerning the great work of the negociation, as Count Tallard has aſked a private audience of me for to-morrow, having received anſwers to his laſt letters; ſo that, by next poſt, I ſhall be able to inform you what he ſays to me; it will therefore be of no uſe to write at preſent. I think Mr. Hop ought not to go to Vienna till we can ſee a little further into this negociation; and ſome pretext may eaſily be found to detain him, without letting it appear that it is done purpoſely; for that ought by no means to be known or believed. I am afraid the alliance between France and Sweden, will be concluded before Lelienroth gets to Sweden. I have little expectation that the alliance with Denmark will go forward.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM. 1698.

Kenſington, May 27, June 6, 1698.

AGREEABLY to what I wrote you in my laſt, Count Tallard was with me the following day. Not to make a long recital of our converſation, he read over to me the annexed memorial; and after ſome reaſoning upon it, I told him it was impoſſible for me to retain the three alternatives in my memory, and deſired to be permitted to copy the memorial. He thereupon gave it me, but proteſted he had no orders for it, and deſired I would uſe it with diſcretion, and not look upon it as a propoſition in writing. I did not think it proper to enter into much reaſoning with him for that time, as they were new propoſals; and that it was reaſonable, in an affair of that importance, to take time to revolve the matter. And beſides, I told him I ſhould communicate it to you; for in an affair of that nature I would do nothing without communicating and adviſing with the firſt miniſters in Holland, which he approved, and does not expect an anſwer till I ſhall have received one from you. Though I told him I would not enter into any debate about the matter, yet I ſhewed him I perſiſted in my former ſentiments of treating upon that alternative, by which Spain was to come to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and gave to underſtand that the pretenſions about St. Sebaſtian appeared very ſtrange to me; and that Navarre being in the poſſeſſion of France, I did not ſee but that they might make themſelves maſters of Spain whenever they pleaſed. That I did not know what were the towns and places upon the coaſt of Tuſcany, which I really do not; and he was obliged to own that he was alſo uninformed about them. You will be able to inform yourſelf about this matter, and let me know ſoon and diſtinctly your ſentiments upon it. Count Tallard preſſed very much on the neceſſity of making a ſpeedy end of this negociation, for fear the King of Spain ſhould happen to die, and every thing get into confuſion; and

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that it would then be impoſſible to negociate. He alſo wiſhed to inſinuate that we muſt not expect more favourable conditions than what he had now propoſed. I hope the Earl of Portland will be here againſt the time I receive your anſwer, from whom I ſhall certainly learn what we have to expect, and ſhall then be more able to take my meaſures. I have this day received your's of the 2d of June, together with a plan of articles for the treaty, which I have not time to anſwer at preſent; beſides it requires no great haſte.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, June 21, July 1, 1698.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your's of the 24th and 27th of June. I ſhall ſay very little to you upon the ſubject at preſent, as the Earl of Portland has undertaken to write to you upon the great affair, to which I refer you; and will write my thoughts about Mr. Hop's inſtructions, to you by the next poſt.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, June 24, July 3, 1698.

I HAVE this day received your letter of July the 1ſt. I think the interview you propoſe to have with Mr. Dykvelt, at Moerdyk, will be of uſe, in taking meaſures againſt an unexpected accident; and you conſider very juſtly that they muſt be ſuch as are not adverſe to the great negociation we have now in hand; concerning which, the Earl of Portland will inform you circumſtantially of what has paſſed between Count Tallard and me. It ſeems as if the French rather drew back than advanced; ſo that I cannot yet judge what will

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will be the iſſue. I know well that uncertainty does us no ſervice, but hinders us from taking firm meaſures. I think it will not be amiſs that Mr. Hop ſet out for Vienna; but it is impoſſible to give him other inſtructions than what you mention in your letter of June the 24th; for to engage ourſelves at once with that court, before we ſee the event of this great negociation, muſt not be done.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, July 5-15th, 1698.

AT length I have this day prorogued the Parliament to the 2d of Auguſt, and intend to diſſolve it by proclamation the day after to-morrow, and in a few days to call a new one. This has been an intolerably long ſeſſion, very embarraſſing and difficult, and had taken an unfavourable turn at the beginning; but, God be thanked, it has ended better than I could have hoped. I can now be certain, with God's help, of ſetting out in a fortnight at lateſt.

Since my laſt, I have received your's of the 8th and 11th of this month, and I think you have anſwered very well to every thing Mr. Dykvelt propoſed. I ſhould, by no means, be of opinion that Luxembourg ſhould be transferred to any Prince, for the reaſons you alledge, which are very valid. It would alſo be very prejudicial to the great negociation, of which I ſhall be able to give you more lights by the next poſt, as Count Tallard is to have an audience of me to-morrow, at his requeſt; having received an anſwer from his court about what paſſed in the laſt. I agree with you at once, in the arguments you make uſe of, in your's of the 8th, touching this matter, and will regulate myſelf accordingly, as much as poſſible. The project Mr. Dykvelt ſpoke to you about, of erecting a kind of council or junto, at Bruſſels (at which ſhould aſſiſt ſomebody from

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the Republic, and ſomebody from me) would pleaſe me much; but we ought to know what value our votes would have; what would be the authority of this council; and what ſubjects ſhould be treated of in it; on which points Mr. Dykvelt ſhould get further lights. WILLIAM. 1698.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, July 8-18th, 1698.

I HAVE been ſo buſy to-day that I have only time to ſay, in a few words, that in the converſation I had the day before yeſterday with Count Tallard, he told me he had received orders to make no new propoſals, but to inſiſt upon the former; and his language tended chiefly to inſinuate that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were of ſmall importance to France, and too little a portion for the Dauphin's right of ſucceſſion. I alſo perſiſted, on my part, in my former propoſals; and he has undertaken to write again to his court. I begin to doubt much of the ſucceſs of this negociation, particularly ſince the news arrived of the King of Spain's relapſe; of which you muſt have been circumſtantially informed; and it embarraſſes me not a little.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, Auguſt 10th, 1698.

COUNT TALLARD has been here this morning, and has made me further propoſals, of which the Earl of Portland will inform you; and as I think they come near to the point, it will be neceſſary I ſhould confer with you thereon, as ſoon as poſſible: I therefore deſire you will ſet out from the Hague to-morrow evening, in order to be here early on Tueſday evening; and it will be neceſſary

WILLIAM. 1698.

neceſſary to bring Mr. Dykvelt with you. I do not know whether he is ſtill at the Hague, or at Utrecht; if at the latter, you can take him up *en paſſant*.

I have this inſtant received your letter of yeſterday. I ſhould not think it neceſſary for Mr. Hop, to call at the court of Brandenburgh, on his road to Vienna; and much leſs ſo, that I ſhould write to Mr. Barfois, at preſent, by Mr. Dieſt.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, Auguſt 14-24th, 1698.

I HAVE received your letters of the 19th and 22d inſtant. The Earl of Portland will give you an account of what has paſſed with Count Tallard, and propoſes going to the Hague on Tueſday or Wedneſday, in order to talk over the affair with you, and to adjuſt every thing as much as poſſible. I have ſent Robinſon full powers to treat with Sweden, if neceſſary; but I have little hopes of it.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 14th, 1698.

I HAVE received your letters of the 11th and 12th inſtant, and ſee that you have brought this great work into the aſſembly of the States of Holland, and I have no hopes that it will remain a ſecret long, which it ought to have done; and we ſhould certainly have been able to direct the work with more facility and leſs blame, at Vienna than at Madrid. It will cauſe an amazing emotion when it becomes public, which I now think will be inevitable, though we muſt

must still try to keep it as secret as possible. The Earl of Portland will inform you of my sentiments about the form of signing the treaty, and what else relates to it. I hope to confer with you here this day se'enight, upon these affairs, more at large. I am entirely of your sentiment, that we ought to stipulate, with respect to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, whatever we judge most tending to our convenience and advantage; and I should be glad to know your thoughts about these particulars. It will be necessary to inform Mr. Dykvelt of it, in order to treat upon it; for it ought also to be concluded when the treaty with France comes to be ratified. WILLIAM. 1698.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, October 14-24th, 1698.

I RETURNED hither this night in good health. I did not write to you during my journey, having nothing to say, and your letters requiring no answer; the last is dated the 21st instant, which I received at Lingen. It will give me great pleasure, if the treaty with France can yet be kept secret; but I know not if she has any further meaning by it, for I have reason to doubt her good faith, of which I shall acquaint you further; and I desire, if business will permit it, that you will set out from the Hague, Sunday or Monday next, in order to be here the day following; as it is necessary I should discourse with you upon this important matter, and some others. Notwithstanding the suspicion I have, I think the ratification of the treaty should however, be exchanged, that nothing may be wanting on our side. If you are of my sentiment, the sooner it is done the better.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM. 1698.

Kenſington, December 16-26th, 1698.

THIS day I have received your's of the 19th. I cannot believe that what Quiros has told you is true, that they are perfectly acquainted in Spain with the treaty concluded with France; the Earl of Portland will inform you by this poſt, of the diſpatches I received yeſterday from my Lord Jerſey. I believe Count Tallard will be here in a few days, and I long impatiently to learn what he brings with him; about which I am apprehenſive, conſidering the ſituation of affairs every where.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, December 20-30th, 1698.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your's of the 19th inſtant, by which I learn with pleaſure, that every thing is gone off ſo well in the aſſembly of Holland. The Earl of Portland will inform you, by this poſt, of what Count Tallard brings with him, to which I refer you. I am ſo chagrined at what paſſes in the lower houſe with regard to the troops, that I can ſcarce turn my thoughts to any other matter. I foreſee that I ſhall be obliged to come to reſolutions of extremity *, and that I ſhall ſee you in Holland ſooner than I had thought. It is impoſſible for me to enter into particulars at preſent; and affairs are ſo changeable here, that one can rely certainly upon nothing, till it is done.

WILLIAM R.

* This alludes to the reſolution he had taken to veſt the government here in Commiſſioners, and depart for Holland. Lord Somers told the King upon it, that before his Majeſty made that declaration to Parliament, he ſhould humbly deſire to reſign the Great Seal; he had received it from him as his ſovereign, and begged to return it to him, while he continued ſo. This manly ſpeech checked the King's haſty project, which would have been conſtrued as a ſort of abdication.

Kenſington, January 6-16th, 1699.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your's of the 6th of December, the 2d, 6th, and 9th of January. I will not at preſent enlarge upon the great work of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and what has paſſed thereon with Count Tallard; of which you will have received circumſtantial information from the Earl of Portland, to which I refer you. I will only add, that, at preſent, it appears to me more than before, that France means to keep to the treaty, and has no intention to begin a new war, unleſs the proceedings here ſhould lead them to change their reſolution, which there is but too much reaſon to apprehend. It will be neceſſary for Mr. Dykvelt to ſet out for Bruſſels, as ſoon as poſſible, in order to concert with the Elector of Bavaria, about acceding to the alliance, and the renunciation, in the ſame manner, and terms, as the Dauphin has done.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, January 13-23d, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received together your letters of the 13th and 16th inſtant. You will have been informed from time to time, by the Earl of Portland, of what has paſſed with Count Tallard; and we wait for your anſwer thereon. For my part, I muſt repeat, that, at preſent, I begin to believe the intention of France is ſincerely to obſerve the treaty; but I fear much, that the diſorders here may cauſe them to take other reſolutions. The Earl of Portland will alſo have informed you of the diſcourſe Count Harrach has had with Harcourt in Spain, and if it has reached Villars, at Vienna, that may have been the cauſe of diſpatching the courier you mention. I believe we ſhall now have better hopes of the Imperialiſts; though I am aſtoniſhed at the diſcourſes their miniſters have held to you and Hop, and how it could enter into their thoughts, that

WILLIAM. 1699.

England and Holland ſhould take meaſures with them, to ſeclude the Electoral Prince of Bavaria from the ſucceſſion of Spain, and to traverſe the will made in his favour. I doubt not but France will adviſe me of what comes to them from the Imperial court, upon the ſubject; which Tallard has promiſed to do, according to the orders he had for that purpoſe.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, January 31, February 10, 1699.

I RECEIVED your letter of February the 3d, together with that from Mr. Dykvelt, ſo late on Friday, that I had not time to anſwer them; but only ordered the Earl of Portland, to write you my ſentiments in a few words, intending to write to you more amply by this poſt. But I have, with great ſorrow and concern, received your letter by expreſs, with the unexpected news of the deceaſe of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, which changes affairs ſo much, that I cannot yet foreſee the great inconveniencies to which it may lead us. I think you ſtate the affair in a clear light, and touch upon every thing that can be taken into conſideration in this important matter. My opinion was, that I could do nothing better at firſt, than ſend my Lord Jerſey the orders which the Earl of Portland will inform you of; and to hold the ſame language with Count Tallard; and it will ſtill remain, to take ſuch meaſures as may be judged moſt ſerviceable. I believe France will declare ſhe will hold to the ſecret article; but I dread the conſequences, if it come to be known or made public. With regard to the Republic and myſelf, I know not what conduct we ſhall hold in Spain at preſent. For I canno comprehend, how we ſhall ever be able to declare our having intended the ſucceſſion to the Monarchy, for the Elector of Bavaria; and ſtill leſs to communicate it to the Imperial court; ſo

that

that we are in no ſmall labyrinth, and may it pleaſe God to help us out of it. The ordinary poſt of laſt Friday, is not yet arrived, though the expreſs which ſet out after it, is; and I do not know by what accident. WILLIAM. 1699.

WILLIAM R.

In caſe Mr. Dykvelt, has not already communicated the ſecret article to the Elector of Bavaria, I think he ought not to do it, till I ſee further how France takes this ſad accident.

Kenſington, February 3-13th, 1699.

YOUR letter of the 6th, together with Mr. Dykvelt's, came to hand by the ordinary poſt, on Tueſday laſt, after I had wrote to you.

Count Tallard has been with me and the Earl of Portland, to-day, and ſays, he has received an expreſs from his court with the ſame news, and aſſures us, they are in the ſame diſpoſition as when the treaty was made; but ſeems to inſinuate, that the ſecret article ceaſes, which in my opinion is the caſe, having read it over with attention; ſo that new engagements muſt be entered upon, in which I foreſee no ſmall difficulty, and relative to which, I would willingly learn your ſentiments.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 7-17th, 1699.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your letter of the 10th inſtant. I am in daily expectation of an anſwer from the Earl of Jerſey, from France, touching the repreſentation he will have made by my order, on the occaſion of the deceaſe of the Electoral Prince of Ba-

WILLIAM. 1699.

varia. I informed you in my laſt, of the diſcourſe Count Tallard held to me, which he has ſince continued with the Secretary of State, inſinuating that the ſecret article determines; ſo that new meaſures and engagements muſt be taken, of which one ſhall be better able to judge, when an anſwer comes from France.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 10-20th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received together your letters of the 13th and 17th inſtant. I ſhall not have time at preſent to anſwer them at large: the Earl of Portland will inform you of the new propoſals Count Tallard has made me this day. It ſurpriſes me not a little, that France ſhould conſent that a ſon of the Emperor ſhould be King of Spain, which, before the treaty was made, they proteſted ſo ſtrongly they would never agree too, as you know; but it ſeems as if the deſire to have Milan or Lorraine, without a war, induced them to it. It were to be wiſhed, that this great work were again brought to a regular negociation, agreeably to your ſentiments; but I foreſee that France will preſs me much for a poſitive anſwer, which will embarraſs me not a little. For I think the new propoſals are not to be ſlighted, and it will nevertheleſs be very difficult for us to enter into new engagements, without the previous approbation or knowledge of the Emperor; concerning which I ſhould be glad to receive your opinion, as well on the mode of negociating, as on the propoſals.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 17-27th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 20th inſtant. The Earl of Portland will ſend you an alternative, which Count Tallard has propoſed to me, touching the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, in favour of the Duke of Savoy; which is, in his opinion, worſe than that in favour of the Arch-Duke. You will perceive in both theſe alternatives, that France is ſpeculating chiefly how to get Lorraine. I can find no reaſon why France ſhould be advantaged by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. I find it very difficult for us how to negociate this great buſineſs. If we go upon the propoſal in favour of Savoy, it is impoſſible to negociate any thing at Vienna; but if we go upon that in favour of the Arch-Duke, the negociation might be entered on there immediately; but Tallard gives ſufficiently to underſtand, that he is for having the affair arranged with me firſt, which embarraſſes me not a little. I long to receive your opinion hereon.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 21ſt, March 3d, 1699.

LAST Saturday I received your's of February the 24th. I approve at once your reaſoning upon the conduct to be held in regard to what France has now propoſed; and you will have learnt, that I have ſpoken with Count Tallard pretty nearly in conformity to this; but I ſhall be preſſed to declare myſelf further, as I wrote you in my laſt; and it is certain France will not ſuffer us to negociate at Vienna, till we have agreed with her about the conditions; and I fear they will relax very little in the propoſals they have now made us; and we ſhall be not a little embarraſſed what party to chuſe. I intend to ſend the Earl of Portland to-morrow to Count

WILLIAM. 1699. Tallard, to ſpeak to him again upon this matter, of which I will acquaint you by the next poſt.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 24th, March 6th, 1699.

THERE are no Dutch letters arrived ſince my laſt. The Earl of Portland will give you an account, by this poſt, of what he has ſaid to Count Tallard from me. I think the whole of the buſineſs is to endeavour to make France comprehend that they ought not to receive any advantage by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; for the negociation will go on heavily, ſo long as they pretend an augmentation of their portion. And, indeed, it is evident, their only object now is to get Lorraine, by one means or other; and I fear much that they will not give way, particularly when I conſider their former conduct, and that the King of France himſelf ſaid to Lord Jerſey, "*Qu'il falloit ſe contenter auſſi*;" which is a ſign they will perſiſt in their firſt propoſal, as they are uſed to give way in nothing, when they have once made a propoſal; but afterwards rather ſpoil than mend the matter, though they appear to be making new ones; ſo that we muſt think upon new expedients for propoſing ſome equivalent, in caſe they let the negociation go forward.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 28th, March 10th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received together your letters of February 27th, and March 3d. I approve at once your arguments reſpecting the negociation with France; in which nothing further is now to be done, till Count Tallard has received an anſwer from his Court.

WILLIAM R.

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Kenſington, March 7-17th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received together your letters of the 6th, 10th, and 13th inſtant. I do not yet know that Count Tallard has received letters from France, touching what the Earl of Portland ſaid to him in my name; ſo that I have nothing farther to write to you at preſent; but I approve very much your way of reaſoning.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, March 10-20th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 17th. The Earl of Portland will inform you of what has paſſed between him and Count Tallard. I am entirely of your opinion, that Mr. Hop ſhould begin to ſpeak upon the footing you mention, which would give a beginning to the negociation, and would put it in our power to proceed as far with it as we ſhould think proper; and would hinder France probably from getting beforehand with us, and making us take wrong meaſures at the Court of Vienna. I deſire therefore you will write immediately to Mr. Hop upon this footing. We will in the mean time go on here with Tallard, and advance the buſineſs as much as poſſible.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, March 14-24th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your's of the 20th inſtant. The Earl of Portland will inform you circumſtantially of what has further paſſed between Count Tallard and him; by which you will ſee, it appears to be the *ultimatum* of France in the above partition, to have Navarre or Lorraine for the Dauphin; ſo that I think we muſt ſoon determine whether we will treat upon this footing, and afterwards begin the negociation at Vienna. For I do not believe

WILLIAM. 1699.

that France is to be brought any further at this juncture, and it is a difficult deliberation what to do next. I ſhould be glad to have your ſentiments thereon immediately.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, March 21-31ſt, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received yours of the 24th inſtant. I refer you to what the Earl of Portland will write you concerning what has been further brought before him by Count Tallard. The whole turns upon what I wrote in my former letter, that, unleſs the exchange of the Milaneſe for Lorraine is granted France, nothing will come of this negociation; ſo that I am not a little embarraſſed, conſidering the difficulties on all ſides, and the bad ſituation of affairs here, which I muſt neceſſarily attend to.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, April 4-14th, 1699.

THE Earl of Portland will acquaint you with the anſwer Count Tallard has received from France, relative to thoſe points delivered to him in my name. He has aſked an audience of me (which I cannot grant him before Monday) to repeat to me what he told the Earl of Portland this morning; and, as he refuſes all thoſe points, and I am reſolved to perſiſt in them, I do not know what will come of this negociation, though I can hardly believe that France will now break it off. The two eſſential points are Final, and aſſenting to the Archduke's going to Spain. One would hardly ſuppoſe that they would remain firm with regard to the firſt; but I greatly doubt whether they will conſent to the laſt, for they can allege many reaſons which appear very plauſible.

WILLIAM R.

Windſor, May 12th-22d, 1699.

I HAD not time to anſwer your letters the 12th and 15th inſtant laſt poſt; and to-day I have received that of the 19th. I ſhall refer you to what the Earl of Portland ſhall write you concerning the negociation with Tallard. I think Mr. Hop ſhould be ordered to open the negociation at Vienna, by ſhewing that it will be impoſſible, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die, to prevent France from putting herſelf in poſſeſſion of that entire monarchy; and conſequently that it is the intereſt of all Europe, of us particularly, to prevent a war; the only means of which is, to accede to a partition of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The negociation ſhould be opened upon this ground, and you will be beſt able to judge how to inſtruct Mr. Hop.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, May 16-26th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 22d, and thereby learnt what has paſſed at Vienna, in conference with Mr. Hop. It appears that the Miniſtry there ſpeak quite at their eaſe, and would have us make war for them, in caſe of the King of Spain's death. In my opinion, it will be neceſſary for Mr. Hop to open himſelf a little further, and begin to mention a partition, with the reaſons that render it neceſſary; for, in all appearance, the negociation here with Tallard will ſoon be at an end. I alſo intend to ſpeak to Count Averſberg in the ſame ſtyle, in order to advance the work as much as poſſible; for the term of three months and a half will be very ſhort for ſettling every thing.

WILLIAM R.

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Kenſington, May 19-29th, 1699.

THOUGH the wind has been conſtantly eaſt, yet the Dutch letters of Tueſday laſt are not yet arrived; perhaps, all the packet boats are on this ſide. I have ſpoken with Count Averſberg this morning, and told him I was inclined to take meaſures with the Emperor for preventing a war in caſe of the King of Spain's death; and ſhewed him at large the impoſſibility there was of carrying it on at preſent againſt France with any hopes of ſucceſs, and that I did not know any better means to propoſe for preventing a French Prince's ſucceeding to the Crown of Spain, than to endeavour to come to an agreement with France herſelf about the ſucceſſion; and for this end it was neceſſary to treat with Mr. Hop at Vienna upon it. He undertook to write about it, and appeared to approve the affair. During our diſcourſe, he ſaid, he believed the Emperor would agree to a partition, but that we were as much intereſted as them, in France's not becoming too powerful, particularly in Italy, as it would affect us more with regard to our commerce. You will make uſe of this converſation for Mr. Hop's information, that he may take his meaſures accordingly, and you will inſtruct him further, as you may judge neceſſary, for the advancement of this negociation.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, May 22d, June 2d, 1699.

I RECEIVED your's of May 26th, after the departure of my laſt; and to-day your's of the 29th. I am ſorry the contrary winds hindered the Engliſh letters from getting over. I hope you have now received them, and ſeen what I thought neceſſary to be written to Mr. Hop, and what I ſaid to Count Averſberg, to which I have nothing to add at preſent. The Earl of Portland will inform you how the negociation with Tallard ſtands. Your ſentiments upon the extending of the convention are expected with impatience. I could

could wiſh that Mr. Witſe could go through with the affair of the *Mariniers*. I have fixed my departure from hence for Friday ſe'ennight, and I pray God may grant me a favourable paſſage. WILLIAM. 1699.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, June 28th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received the annexed letter from the Earl of Portland, which is in ſubſtance the ſame he wrote you. The exchange of the convention with France might be made by him and Count Tallard at the Hague, or by you in his abſence; and Henning ſhall ſend you the inſtrument for that purpoſe. I could wiſh Count Tallard came here as little as poſſible, not to give any umbrage; and I deſire you to ſay ſo from me. I think the French are in the right not to make any propoſals about Lorraine, till the negociation with the Emperor is farther advanced, which you may tell both to Bonrepos and Tallard.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, July 6th, 1699.

I AM glad Mr. Hop has begun the negociation at Vienna, and that it does not appear to have made any bad impreſſion at firſt. The time is certainly ſhort for expediting this great work; and therefore France ſhould have made no difficulties to prolong the time, which cannot prejudice them.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, July 4-14th, 1699.

I DO not anſwer your letters regularly, but only as I think they require it, which I hope you will not think ſtrange. Your laſt is of the 11th inſtant. You have done very well to write to Hop to complain of the delays at Vienna. I only fear leſt they ſhould occaſion

WILLIAM. 1699.

occaſion the concluding of this great work without them; not from the difficulty of the work, nor becauſe they will not accept the conditions, but merely becauſe the Miniſtry there cannot come to any concluſive reſolution. Yeſterday I received another expreſs from the Elector of Bavaria, who is greatly alarmed at the ſituation of affairs at Madrid, and that the Miniſtry puſh him ſo hard, and are for taking the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands from him, as you will alſo ſee by the annexed letter from Schonenberg, which came by the ſame expreſs. We muſt now conſider whether or not to ſupport him in the government, and in what manner.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, July 7-17th, 1699.

BY my laſt you have ſeen my anxiety for the delays at the Court of Vienna, in which I am confirmed by your's of May 14th; and I think you have written very properly to Hop, and I alſo am pleaſed with the anſwer you have given to Bonrepos. I think his object was only curioſity, or to begin the negociation at the Hague, which he ardently wiſhes for.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, July 8-18th, 1699.

THIS morning I received your letter of yeſterday; and having examined Mr. Hop's letter to you, with your anſwer, and alſo what you farther propoſe writing to him, I approve it entirely; and alſo that you ſhould ſpeak to Bonrepos on that footing next Monday; and if Tallard comes to me at Loo to-morrow, which I hear he will, I ſhall talk to him in the ſame ſtyle. There is only one point, on which I know not whether France has declared herſelf poſitively, Whether her ſhare of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion is to go to the Dauphin,

Dauphin, or one of his ſons? though I doubt not but it is for the Dauphin, in order to annex it to the Crown of France. WILLIAM. 1699.

I begin now to have better hopes of the negociation; but I am always apprehenſive of the irreſolution of the Court of Vienna.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, July 14-24th, 1699.

I HAVE not yet anſwered your letters of the 18th, 21ſt, and 22d inſtant, which I duly received. Count Averſberg was with me yeſterday, and ſaid in ſubſtance the very ſame Count Goes and he had ſaid to you. I anſwered in general terms, that I was glad to find the Emperor inclined to come to an accommodation, which I looked upon as very neceſſary at preſent, conſidering the ſituation of affairs, and the very dangerous ſtate of the King of Spain's health; that I would willingly learn what would content France in the ſucceſſion, and give Mr. Hop information of every thing. I thought it better to enter into no farther particulars with him, having learned from experience, that his relation of affairs is not always very exact. I adviſed him earneſtly to inſiſt on ſpeedy reſolutions at his court; for that their ordinary delays would be inſupportable on the preſent occaſion.

I did not think proper to ſpeak about the place of the negociation, for had I mentioned the Hague, it would have been thought I propoſed it; and Count Tallard, who was here, having told me he had poſitive orders to declare that France would not negociate at Vienna, but at the Hague, I think you had beſt ſay ſo to Averſberg and Goes. I did tell the former, that as the affair was ſo preſſing, he ſhould write to his Court to ſend him and Goes full power to treat. For my part, it is indifferent which is the place, though the Hague would be the moſt convenient. The idea, however, ſtrikes me, whether it might not go on quicker at Vienna, as the Miniſtry there, being

WILLIAM. 1699.

being able to ſpeak to the Emperor every day, might determine much ſooner, than by ſending orders to their Miniſters at the Hague; but, however, if France will not have it otherwiſe, it muſt be ſo.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, July 17-27th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 25th. I am of opinion with you that we muſt wait for the Court of Vienna's anſwer to Hop's propoſal, before we ſpeak of the place of negociation. In the mean while, it is neceſſary you ſhould preſs Counts Averſberg and Goes to procure ſpeedy reſolutions from their Court, and full powers to treat. I have ſpoken to Count Averſberg upon it. Count Tallard was with me yeſterday, but ſpoke of no buſineſs, which I wonder at. He went away in the evening, ſaying, he expected a courier, and would then come again. As he did not deſire to ſpeak to me, I thought I ought not to enter into converſation with him, having nothing particular to ſay.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, Auguſt 16th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received your letter of yeſterday. The orders which Goes and Averſberg have received, appear to me to be a mere trick to loſe time; thinking, at the ſame time, that England and Holland are moſt inclined for the Indies, on account of their commerce, and that they will therefore give more attention to them than to Italy. I do not know of any thing to add to what you have anſwered, and what you intend to write to Hop to-morrow. This confirms me more and more in my opinion, that the Miniſtry at Vienna are for being forced; which to me is an irreprehenſible policy, and will embarraſs us much.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, Auguſt 21ſt, 1699.

IT grieves me to ſee the diſpoſition of the Court of Vienna; that there is ſo little hope to ſee the great work of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion terminated by an agreement between the Emperor and France, and that we ſhall be forced to enter into ſeparate engagements with France, which I would ſo willingly have avoided, knowing what bad conſequence it will be of to us. I am therefore ſtill of opinion, that all imaginable means muſt be uſed to endeavour to obtain from France a prolongation of the term for treating with her.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 15th, 1699.

LAST night I received yours of the 13th, and learn by it the anſwer which the expreſs from Vienna has brought, which, though far from the *ultimatum* of France, yet I did not think the Imperialiſts would have advanced ſo far at firſt. I think the French Ambaſſadors are greatly in the wrong to preſs the time ſo much for concluding the treaty, for a little delay cannot be of any prejudice to France, and the negociation they pretend the Emperor has underhand, can certainly make little change in the great work. But that is not the object; what France aims at is, to make them conclude a ſeparate treaty with her, which ſhe would prefer to a voluntary one; for by forcing them, all the blame of the affair would reſult to us, and the benefit to her. I do not expect much by the expreſs which Hop is to ſend. In my opinion it is not our buſineſs to require to conclude with France, till we ſend one more courier to Vienna, to inform them that, unleſs they accept thoſe conditions, we ſhall be obliged to come to an agreement with France, about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, without them. And, in all probability, ſeveral days will paſs before the courier reaches Hop, and alſo ſeveral others before he is

WILLIAM. 1699. rediſpatched, and the 25th of this month will be elapſed long before the anſwer can arrive here.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 19th, 1699.

I HAVE received your diſpatch of yeſterday. I confeſs I find myſelf embarraſſed what anſwer to give, touching the memorial Count Tallard gave the Earl of Portland, which has been delivered to the Marquis D'Harcourt at Madrid. It is in ſubſtance what Quiros has ſaid to you and the Earl of Portland. My embarraſſment is, that I cannot hinder France from making the negociation public, though I do not approve the anſwer France intends to give Spain; and ſhould I approve it, then the treaty muſt go forward immediately, or very ſoon at leaſt; which you know I would willingly have avoided. At preſent I ſee no other way than to anſwer as you have propoſed, when the courier arrives that is expected from Vienna, and if he brings nothing particular. But the expreſſions in France's anſwer to Spain muſt be changed abſolutely, that it may not appear to be a treaty already concluded, which in truth it is not, for the Republic has not yet deliberated upon it. I think if I can bring this anſwer to be conſented to, France will have leſs reaſon to preſs me to conclude the treaty; but it is certain, that the Republic muſt take it immediately into conſideration. I am entirely of your opinion, that this intended anſwer of France is only, by making the negociation public, to preſs us ſo much the more to a concluſion without the Emperor's intervention; and that France's preſent object, according to my judgment, is to ſeparate us by that means from that party; which is very wrong, but we cannot help ourſelves at preſent.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 12th-22d, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 20th, and ſhall long to ſee what the courier will bring from Vienna. I think by what Mr. Hop writes, that the Imperialiſts will come very near the mark; but the chief obſtacle will be the Milaneſe.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, September 26th, 1699.

I HAVE two of your letters to anſwer, of the 23d and 24th inſtant. The eagerneſs which Tallard ſhews more than Bonrepos, to have an anſwer relative to what muſt be ſaid to Spain, ariſes, in my opinion, from ſelf-intereſt or caprice, for they have certainly the ſame orders from their Court; for it is not the maxim of France to ſend different orders to her Miniſters. I hardly think you will have an anſwer from Vienna to-morrow, and therefore I hope you may ſtill be able to delay giving a poſitive anſwer to the French Ambaſſadors, though the impertinent memorial of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London ſhould make me rather haſten the negociation.

WILLIAM R.

Loo, September 29th, 1699.

THE Earl of Portland will communicate to you the impertinent and ſeditious writing which the Spaniſh Ambaſſador has given out in England. I could not do leſs than order him to depart out of the kingdom in fourteen days. King Charles did the ſame thing to D. Bernardo Salinas, and to Fonçeca who is ſtill living, only becauſe he had correſponded and had conferences with members of Parliament. This ſtep will embroil me with Spain at once; but I cannot avoid it; and conſequently I ſhall have leſs ſcruple to con-

WILLIAM. 1699.

clude the treaty with France. This evening or to-morrow I ſhall probably learn what paſſed laſt Sunday in your conference with the French Ambaſſadors.

WILLIAM R.

Since I wrote the above, I have received your two long letters of yeſterday, and I thank you for the trouble. And, in order to give you a ſhort anſwer, I approve entirely your ideas about ſending a courier to Vienna again, with inſtructions for Mr. Hop, in the manner you propoſe; as alſo your intention of ſpeaking and concerting with the French Ambaſſador about the anſwer to be given to Spain. You muſt now immediately bring this whole negociation into deliberation by the States, for it muſt not be delayed any longer; and I foreſee that the treaty muſt now ſoon be concluded.

WILLIAM R.

Dieren, October 8th, 1699.

I HAVE only this evening received yours of yeſterday. I am entirely of your opinion, in regard to the article of Lorraine, and that we ſhould ſpeak further thereupon with the French.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, October 20-30th, 1699.

ON my arrival at Margate, I diſpatched a boat with letters to acquaint you with my happy landing, but as the wind has blowed continually eaſt, you will perhaps receive this at the ſame time. I never had a more happy or commodious paſſage. I have this morning received your letter of the 27th, and read with attention the proteſt of the Imperialiſts. I think I can give the paper no other name.

name. I muſt confeſs, that it contains many reaſons of weight and conſideration; but things appear to me to be gone too far, to admit of much reaſoning upon them. It was very agreeable to me to learn what paſſed between you and Bonrepos, the day after my departure, which revives the negociation. I have thought myſelf under a neceſſity of informing my Ambaſſador in France, of what paſſed at the Hague, in order that he might be able to undeceive the King of France and his miniſters, of the biaſſed impreſſion Tallard may have given them; as if I had ſhuffled in this buſineſs, and had not kept to my engagement; and to endeavour to procure orders to be ſent Bonrepos, to adjuſt and ſettle all difficulties with the Republic.

WILLIAM R.

Though the negociation at Vienna appears to be at an end, yet Mr. Hop cannot be recalled at this criſis, but muſt ſtay there a little while longer. It is reported that Count Averſberg has ſaid, he had heard Mr. Hop was recalled, and that in that caſe, he ſhould be obliged to depart alſo; and that all intercourſe and correſpondence would be broken off.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, October 23d, November 3d, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 30th of October, and I am very ſorry to ſee that the Burgomaſters of Amſterdam, decline the convention for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. Undoubtedly, the whole magiſtracy will be of the ſame way of thinking, ſo that other arguments muſt be tried to perſuade them to it. I think you muſt bring that work before the generality in my name, in order to ſee what the provinces will ſay to it; and in order to fulfil my engagements with France, that I would do my beſt to bring the

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the treaty to effect. I think in the mean while, you ſhould give Bonrepos thoſe remarks of importance which Amſterdam made upon the treaty, without however naming that town as yet; but as remarks of ſome miniſters of the Republic, that he may ſend them to France and receive further orders thereon, which will ſhew we are for loſing no time. As ſoon as I hear any thing from France touching this negociation, I will immediately inform you.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, October 31ſt, November 10th, 1699.

I DID not write to you by the laſt poſt for want of matter. I have ſince received your letters of the 3d and 6th of November. You will have ſeen by my preceding letter, that I think it will be neceſſary for my juſtification, that the great work of the negociation be brought before the generality; but I own, conformably to your ideas, that no remarks ſhould be given Bonrepos, as long as Amſterdam is againſt the whole negociation, which till now I had not ſo comprehended. I have letters from France, that Prior was arrived; but that my Ambaſſador could not have a private audience of the King (as he was at Marli) till next Saturday or Tueſday; ſo that it will probably be the latter end of next week, before I can inform you of his return, unleſs Count Tallard ſhould come here ſooner. I think the affair is now in that ſtate, that we muſt firſt know how France looks upon it, before we can judge what will be the iſſue of the whole work.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton-court, November 71-7th, 1699.

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 10th. It appears from Bonrepos's language, that they are for negociating that great buſineſs here and not at the Hague, which it will be equally impoſſible to do, whilſt the people of the Republic continue to have their difficulties. I hear nothing yet of Count Tallard's coming over; and have nothing further from France, nor do I expect any thing till the end of this week, as my Ambaſſador will not have been able to have an audience of the King of France, till to-day; ſo that I have nothing further to write to you at preſent, upon this important matter.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, November 10-20th, 1699.

THE day before yeſterday, I received your letter of the 13th, and ſaw with great concern, that Amſterdam not only perſiſts in not acceding to the treaty; but alſo, that there is little hope of making her change her ſentiments, which embarraſſes me not a little. I expect Prior from France to-morrow or the day after, and ſhall find by him how the affair is taken in France; and ſhall then be in a better condition to judge what is to be done further in this important work. I imagine, that when France ſees that the Republic will not enter into this ſaid treaty, they will be for engaging me to do it alone; not ſo much, becauſe France will think herſelf ſecurer by that, but to ſee if I act in good faith; and alſo to ſeparate me from the Republic, which is a great embarraſſment to me on all ſides; and I ſhall not be a little perplexed what part to take. I deſire you will let me know your ideas upon this.

 WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM.
1699.

Kenſington, November 14-24th, 1699.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your's of the 17th inſtant. I am very ſorry that the Amſterdam gentlemen continue in the ſame ſentiments; and the arguments Penſionary Buis alleges to you, appear incomprehenſible to me. I doubt, however, whether Amſterdam, in caſe all the provinces conſent, would remain ſingle in an affair of this nature. In the mean time, if it were poſſible to get the Emperor to conſent, it would be a deſirable circumſtance; for if the only, or the greateſt difficulty conſiſts in the affair of the renunciation, as Count Goes ſeems to have told you, ſome expedient might be propoſed, to wit, That, reciprocally, neither the Emperor, nor the King of France, ſhould renounce for their deſcendants. Prior returned from France two days ago, and tells me, that the anſwer which the French King gave my Ambaſſador was in ſubſtance. That he owned, he was ſurpriſed the treaty was not yet ſigned; that he was glad to find, I continued in the ſame ſentiment of entering into the treaty; and that he had the ſame inclination, and would ſend Tallard hither, as ſoon as might be, to perfect the work; that he could make uſe of no other miniſter in it than him, as he had always been in the ſecret of the negociation; and that he did not doubt, but I had more credit in the Republic than him: ſeeming to inſinuate, that I could direct the buſineſs there as I thought proper; and that I alſo beſt knew the form and manner. I expect Count Tallard every day, who probably will be much ſurpriſed and diſcontented, that the Republic is not yet prepared to ſign.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 17-27th, 1699.

I RECEIVED your's of the 20th, after I had written to you by the laſt poſt. I have for once nothing to ſay to you concerning the great work of the negociation, as Count Tallard is not yet arrived. I am entirely of your opinion, that, in the preſent ſtate of the difference in Holſtein, nothing elſe can be done to prevent a war, than that the mediators and guarantees ſhould make the declaration you mention. I have already ſent orders to Creſett, to join with the others in doing it; but there is no time to be loſt; and I fear the Danes have already commenced hoſtilities. I wiſh you could agree with Von Stocken, upon all the articles of a treaty, and reſerve it to the laſt.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, November 24th, December 4th, 1699.

I HAVE this day received your letters of the 24th and 27th of November. Count Tallard arrived here two days ago, and has had an audience of me to-day; the ſubſtance of what he told me in it, is, That the King his maſter was ſurpriſed that the treaty in queſtion, was not ſigned before my departure from the Hague; and that the republic ſhould make difficulties about it at preſent, ſeeing they were ſo ready to conclude a ſimilar one a year ago; and, That he had power and order to ſign the ſaid treaty even here, with whomever the Republic ſhould authorize. I anſwered, That the republic had not yet come to a reſolution upon it, and that I could not deny that more difficulties were ariſen than I had been able to foreſee; that I had done my beſt ſincerely, and ſtill ſhould do. To which he replied, that the King his maſter was perſuaded of it, and had received with pleaſure the aſſurance I had cauſed to be made thereon, by my Ambaſſador in France; but that he could not enter

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into any detail how it ſtood with the republic on this matter, nor what was to be done; but that the direction of that muſt be left to me. That no alteration could be made in the eſſential points of the treaty; but they were well inclined to make any literal corrections, or to elucidate and clear up any part that was neceſſary; but that it muſt be done here, as he had orders to conclude the buſineſs here and no where elſe. And he beſought me earneſtly, that he might know betimes whether the Republic would accede to this alliance or not; for his King could wait no longer, and muſt take other meaſures. I thereupon told him, I could give him no other anſwer, than that I did my beſt to perſuade the Republic to it; and that there were three poſts due from Holland; for I had not then received your letters. He concluded with ſaying, That he hoped ſhortly to have a poſitive anſwer; and gave ſufficiently to underſtand that he ſhould wait no longer. I found him much out of humour during this converſation (which was not long) worſe than when you ſaw him at the Hague; repeating to me ſeveral times, that he had foreſeen this difficulty, which he had told you and the Earl of Portland, and he appeared to have no hopes of the whole buſineſs; enhancing the great prejudice his King ſuffered from the long lingering of this work. It was eaſy to anſwer this, and ſhew the contrary. He ſaid very poſitively, That his King would no longer remain in this ſtate of uncertainty, but would know whether the Republic would enter into the treaty or not; ſo that you may eaſily conceive how hard I ſhall be preſſed to give a poſitive anſwer, which it is impoſſible for me to do yet; and it is certain, that a delay willl ſoon be taken for a refuſal, ſo that you ſee I ſhall be not a little embarraſſed. Hitherto Count Tallard has not let appear in all his diſcourſe, whether they were inclined to propoſe a ſeparate treaty to me. I ſhould rather think not, as he conſtantly ſpoke of taking other meaſures. I am obliged to you for communicating to me your ſentiments thereon; you will have ſeen by my latter letters, that I

deſired

desired it. I am perfectly of your opinion, that it is not eligible for me to treat with France, distinct from the Republic. WILLIAM. 1699.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, November 28th, December 8th, 1699.

SINCE my last, I have received your's of the 1st and 4th of December. I could wish the provinces would hasten their consent to the alliance, that you might be the more enabled to persuade Amsterdam of it. It is certain their greatest difficulty arises from Vienna, and I am as sorry as they, that the Emperor is not to be persuaded, which Hop's last letter confirms more and more. Count Tallard has not spoken to me on the subject since, and you will easily imagine I shall not begin the conversation first.

WILLIAM R.

Kensington, December 5-15th, 1699.

I WAS not able to write to you by the last post, though I had received your's of the 8th, and I have since received that of the 11th. I hope the remaining provinces have now consented, and consequently, Amsterdam being alone, that you will have been able to press them further. In case the province of Overyssel has not consented, I have caused the Landdrost of Twente to be written to, to conclude with a majority. It is Mr. Van Almelo who gives us all this work, touching whose conduct I must hereafter find an opportunity of entertaining you. Count Tallard has not spoken to me since, concerning the great work; whether it is out of discretion, or that he waits for further orders from France, or possibly because he knows what is going on in Holland, I am ignorant. It is not my intention to speak to him first on the subject, as I have nothing positive to say yet. In case the Republic resolves to accede to the

WILLIAM. 1699.

treaty, you will be pleaſed to turn in your mind how it can be ſettled and ſigned here.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, December 19-29th, 1699.

I DID not write to you by the laſt poſt, for want of matter, and I have ſince received your letters of the 22d and 25th inſtant. I am glad to find Zealand has conſented, and I doubt not but Overyſſel has done the ſame; and that now Amſterdam ſtands out alone, you will be able to preſs her further. Count Tallard was with me yeſterday, and aſked, whether powers were come from Holland to ſign? I anſwered, No; that the conſent to accede to the treaty was not yet general, but that I now had better hopes than before, that the Republic might be brought to it, and in a ſhort time. He ſaid, that the King his Maſter ſhould remain no longer in uncertainty; that he was very ſorry the treaty was not concluded, even for his own ſake, but that he was obliged to write to his Court how this buſineſs was delayed, and did not know what orders he might receive after that; that if I would aſſure him that I would give him a poſitive anſwer in a fortnight or ſo, either Yes or No, he would defer writing, but not otherwiſe. I anſwered, That it was impoſſible to fix ſo ſhort a time; but that I promiſed him, immediately to tell him if the Republic ſhould accede to this alliance; and ſtill repeated, that I hoped to learn in a very ſhort time that the Republic had reſolved upon it, and I did not doubt but the treaty would be concluded. He ſaid, he ſaw little appearance of it, and that he had long foreſeen it, and muſt give account of it to his Court. I ſaid, It was his duty ſo to do, but that I hoped he would relate the affair as it really was, that there never was a greater appearance of a ſpeedy concluſion than at preſent. He was very much agitated, and took leave without ſaying a word more. During our diſcourſe, he exclaimed much againſt the prejudice his King had ſuffered by this delay, which I ſtrongly gainſaid, and

and ſhewed that France could not have ſuffered any prejudice, but that there was not much to be ſaid in favour of remaining in an uncertainty much longer. So that I hope that affair will have a ſpeedy iſſue in Holland; and as ſoon as it ſhall be reſolved upon there, I am of your opinion, that information of it ſhould be given to Sweden, Brandenburgh, and wherever elſe you may think neceſſary, in order to invite them to the guarantee of it. WILLIAM. 1700.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, December 22d, 1699. January 1ſt, 1700.

I HAVE this day received your's of the 29th of December, and learnt with joy that Overyſſel will, in all probability, have conſented the following day, and conſequently that you will have been enabled to preſs the Amſterdamers to conform, and not to remain particular. You will have ſeen by my laſt, that France will certainly remain no longer in uncertainty, and it is much to be wiſhed, that the affair could be brought to a ſpeedy concluſion. The ſettling of the treaty, and the form of ſigning it, will require much ado and time, which will drive Tallard mad; for he will not negociate in Holland, ſo that you muſt bethink yourſelf of ſome expedients. I have nothing further to add at preſent.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, January 2d-12th, 1700.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your's of the 5th inſtant, and ſee with pain the little probability there is of Amſterdam's conforming to the other members of the Republic, in entering into a treaty with France about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; which puts me in the utmoſt perplexity what to do in this important affair, in caſe Amſterdam perſiſts. It is certain, France will wait no longer, but will

WILLIAM. 1700.

will have a poſitive anſwer, Yes or No; and I do not doubt but Count Tallard will come to ſpeak with me next Friday, when I propoſe going to Kenſington. I beg you will let me know your opinion what I can do in theſe difficult matters; for there are ſo many difficulties on all ſides, that I cannot ſee through them.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, January 5th-15th, 1700.

WE want two mails from Holland, which I expect hourly, as the wind has been eaſterly the whole day. Count Tallard has been here to-day, but has not ſpoken a word, looking much out of humour. He has ſeen Count Averſberg a few days paſt (which he had not done before) and affected great familiarity, by which he will probably inſinuate that his Maſter will endeavour to ſettle the great affair of the ſucceſſion with the Emperor. This I do not think improbable; ſo that Amſterdam's complaiſance or deference for the Imperial Court may be of the utmoſt prejudice to us.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, January 9-19th, 1700.

THE day before yeſterday I received your letters of the 8th and 12th inſtant together, and late this evening that of the 15th. I am very glad Amſterdam has conſented. It is impoſſible for me to write you any thing on this ſubject to-night. I muſt defer it to the next. I am alſo glad that Holland has conſented to the treaty with Sweden.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, January 12th-22d, 1700.

I WROTE you by Tueſday's poſt, that I had juſt received your letter of the 15th late in the evening, ſince which no Dutch letters are arrived. The Earl of Portland will inform you circumſtantially by this poſt, how he has adjuſted all the remarks with Count Tallard. There ſeems nothing remaining to perfect this important work, but to find an expedient how to ſign the treaty here, on the part of the Republic, with Count Tallard and my Plenipotentiaries. Count Tallard would be very unwilling to go to the Hague; and I alſo think it would occaſion a great *eclat*; for he has no pretext in the world for going thither. So that you ought immediately to deviſe in what manner it can be beſt arranged.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 2d-12th, 1700.

SINCE my laſt I have received your letter of the 5th, and today that of the 9th. The Earl of Portland will inform you by this poſt, that he adjuſted every thing with Count Tallard yeſterday; and that conſequently the treaty will be ſigned in a few days. Secretary Vernon will alſo ſend you the ſigned treaty with Sweden. So that theſe two affairs are brought to an end.

WILLIAM R.

Kenſington, February 6-16th, 1700.

I DID think that the treaty would have been ſigned with Tallard, before the departure of this poſt; but as ſome difficulties have been raiſed by ſome of my Council, to whom I had communicated it in great ſecrecy, it muſt be deferred till the next.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM. 1700.

Hampton Court, April 19-29th, 1700.

I HAVE ſpoken with Count Tallard, and agreed, that Mr. Hop, the Marquis de Villars, and my Secretary *, ſhould immediately inform the Court of Vienna of our treaty, as you will learn more amply by the Earl of Portland, and probably by Count Briord alſo. As for the Pope and Venice, we ſhall not trouble ourſelves about them, and France alone will mention it in Spain, and we muſt wait for the anſwer from Vienna, before we can communicate it to the Northern Crowns and the German Princes. I ſhall not acquaint Count Averſberg of it before Sunday ſe'ennight, that our letters may firſt reach Vienna; you will write to Hop agreeably to this, and a poſt or two after notify it to Count Goes.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 12th, 1700.

I DID not write to you by the laſt poſt for want of matter. I have ſince received your's of the 5th inſtant; and this evening the terrible news of the deceaſe of the King of Spain on the 1ſt inſtant, by a letter *per* expreſs from Lord Mancheſter of the 9th from Fontainbleau, together with a letter from Schonenburg of the 1ſt inſtant, written a few hours after the death of the King of Spain, whoſe will is ſaid to be in favour of one of the Dauphin's ſons; and that Cardinal Portecarrero is appointed Regent of the whole monarchy till the will is opened. By my account, you muſt have received the ſame ſorrowful tidings about the ſame time. I can now hardly have any further doubt that he will accede to the partition-treaty. The two months ſtipulated for him to declare himſelf, is a ſhort term; there ſhould therefore be no time loſt in preſſing the

* It ſeems ſtrange that an Engliſh Miniſter of rank and character, ſhould not have been then at the Imperial Court.

Imperial

Imperial Court to accede. I believe Tallard will now be here again ſoon, and preſs me to declare myſelf about the exchange of Savoy and Piedmont againſt Naples and Sicily. According to my Ambaſſador's letters from France, Torcy has ſpoken to him upon that buſineſs, and ſhewed great eagerneſs to enter into it; ſo that we riſk nothing in not declaring ourſelves ſo ſpeedily; and I do not know whether we can now do it without a previous communication to the Imperial Court. I ſhall earneſtly wait to have your ſentiments at large on this important matter.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 16th, 1700.

YESTERDAY I received your letters of the 9th and 12th inſtant, and nearly about the ſame time an expreſs from my Ambaſſador in France with the incloſed. Though I doubt not but you will have received the ſame information before this reaches you, yet I cannot think it unneceſſary to ſend it to you, on account of the importance of the mattter. I ſhould have done it laſt night, but I believe you will receive it as early by the ordinary poſt. I doubt not but this unheard-of proceeding of France will ſurpriſe you as much as it did me. I never relied much on engagements with France; but I muſt confeſs, I did not think they would, on this occaſion, have broken, in the face of the whole world, a ſolemn treaty, before it was well accompliſhed. The motives alleged in the annexed memorial are ſo ſhameful, that I cannot conceive how they can have the effrontery to produce ſuch a paper. We muſt confeſs we are dupes, but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is eaſy to cheat any man. The worſt is, it brings us into the the greateſt embarraſſment, particularly when I conſider the conſtitution of affairs here; for the blindneſs of the people here is incredible.

WILLIAM. 1700.

dible. For though this affair is not public yet, it was no ſooner ſaid that the King of Spain's will was in favour of the Duke of Anjou, than it was the general opinion, that it was better for England that France ſhould accept the will, than fulfil the treaty of partition. I think I ought not to conceal this from you, in order that you may be informed of the ſentiments here, which are contrary to mine. For I am perfectly perſuaded, that if this will be executed, England and the Republic are in the utmoſt danger of being totally loſt or ruined. I will hope that the Republic underſtands it thus, and will exert her whole force to oppoſe ſo great an evil. It is the utmoſt mortification to me in this important affair, that I cannot act with the vigour which is requiſite, and ſet a good example; but the Republic muſt do it, and I will engage people here, by a prudent conduct, by degrees, and without their perceiving it. I have proviſionally ſent orders to my Ambaſſador, to declare, That I hold to the treaty, and that the two months the Emperor had to declare himſelf, are expired. Before I could take any further determination, this occurred to me firſt, in order to gain time, which we have ſo much need of. I am not determined, whether it would be beſt that the Emperor ſhould accede to the treaty, or declare his right to the whole ſucceſſion. Poſſibly acceding to the treaty would be beſt for Holland; but as that is not approved here, the other may perhaps be beſt. You can judge better of it than I can. In caſe the Emperor will take up the matter with vigour, he can, in my opinion, do nothing elſe than make himſelf maſter of the Milaneſe immediately, and endeavour to get Naples and Sicily to declare for him, and thus try to make himſelf maſter of Italy; in which the Italian Princes may perhaps concur. What embarraſſes me moſt, is the Spaniſh Netherlands; for it will be very difficult for the Elector of Bavaria to prevent their declaring in favour of, and acknowledging the Duke of Anjou, in caſe he receives orders from Spain for that purpoſe, or is

preſſed by the French. The troops of the Republic in garriſon there, ought to be well upon their guard, and the Elector can diſpoſe of them and his own troops, ſo that he will have the ſuperiority. The only thing I can deviſe, which the Elector can make uſe of for a pretext not to declare himſelf yet, or obey, is, the term of two months which the Emperor has to chuſe in; or, that he cannot quit the government till his debt is paid. I am reſolved to ſend ſome one from hence to Bruſſels to ſpeak with the Elector, and to keep a watchful eye.

Theſe are my firſt and general ideas, which I have thought proper to communicate to you in this weighty and difficult conjuncture, and ſhall eagerly expect your better ſentiments upon the whole of this buſineſs, which I pray God to direct for our good, and to rid us from theſe great difficulties. I confeſs I think vigour is neceſſary on this occaſion, and hope it is to be found in the Republic, in caſe the Emperor will maintain his right. If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I ſhould have ſent to all Courts, to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot ſet a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good, not being able to play any other game with theſe people, than engaging them imperceptibly.

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 8-19th, 1700.

I RECEIVED your letters of the 13th and 15th inſtant by expreſs, the day after the departure of my laſt, and find you did not then know that France had renounced the treaty of partition. It ſeems to me, that Count Briord muſt have been informed of it, from the coolneſs which he ſhewed about the execution of it. I wrote to you my firſt ideas upon this important and embarraſſing incident,

WILLIAM. 1700.

by the laſt poſt; by the next, I may probably be informed of your ſentiments, which I long much to have. It grieves me to the ſoul to find that, now the affair grows public, almoſt every one rejoices that France has preferred the will to the treaty; inſiſting, that it is more advantageous for England and all Europe; merely upon the ſuppoſition that the Duke of Anjou being a child, and to be brought up in Spain, will imbibe Spaniſh maxims, and be governed by the Spaniſh Council, without any relation to France. Theſe are ſuppoſitions, which, in my opinion, cannot take place; and I fear we ſhall feel the contrary too ſoon. It is certain, if the Emperor ſubmits to the will, we can do nothing againſt it; ſo that we muſt know what the Emperor does, before we can take a poſitive reſolution. I think now, I can ſend nobody extraordinary thither, in the preſent circumſtances, till I know how the affair will be taken up; particularly when I conſider the preſent ſentiments of people here, which may probably change; for there is nothing certain here, nor of long duration. I fear the uſual tardineſs of the Court of Vienna will not let them come to a ſpeedy reſolution, which is ſo neceſſary in this conjuncture. My chief anxiety is to prevent the Spaniſh Netherlands from falling into the hands of France. You will eaſily conceive how this buſineſs goes to my heart; for I ſhall be blamed for having relied on engagements with France, having had ſo much experience that they are never bound to any treaty. I wiſh I may be quit for the blame, but I have too much reaſon to fear I ſhall too ſoon feel the bad effects of it.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM. 1700.

Hampton Court, November 23, 1700.

SINCE my laſt, I have received your's of the 16th inſtant. It ſeems to me incomprehenſible that Count Briord ſhould have feigned ſo with you, as if they ſtill intended to execute the treaty in France; for it is impoſſible but he muſt have known the reſolution taken there to accept the will, of which I acquainted you by the poſt of this day ſe'ennight; and had the wind been favourable, I ſhould have received your anſwer yeſterday or to-day, which I long much for. I have not had any letters from France ſince; and the ordinary poſt, which moſtly arrives on the Saturday, is not yet come in: whether the letters be detained in France, I know not, the wind and water having been pretty favourable, ſo that I hourly expect further news how they proceed in this important work, and alſo in what light the Republic and you look upon it. Therefore I can ſay nothing further to you at preſent upon this matter, than what I have wrote in my two preceding letters. People here are all quiet, and trouble their thoughts little with the great change in the affairs of the world. It ſeems "as if it were a puniſhment from heaven that people here are ſo little ſenſible to what paſſes without the iſland, though we ought to have the ſame intereſts and anxieties as thoſe upon the continent."

WILLIAM R.

Hampton Court, November 15-26th, 1700.

THE letters from Holland of laſt Tueſday and Friday's dates are not yet arrived, probably from contrary wind; which vexes me much in the preſent great change of affairs, as I long to know your ſentiments, and how this unexpected accident is looked on by the Republic; and till I am informed of that, I can write nothing more to you upon this important matter, than I have done in my three preceding letters.

WILLIAM. 1700.

I learn by the French letters, that the Duke of Anjou is declared King of Spain, and is to ſet out thither the firſt of next month; ſo that the ice is broke; and the Elector of Bavaria writes, that he has been obliged to do the ſame thing in the Spaniſh Netherlands, and to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung. Theſe ſteps make the affair ſo difficult, that I ſhudder when I think on it. It will probably be a fortnight yet before one can know what reſolution the Imperial Court will have taken; according to which, it now ſeems, every thing ought to be regulated. I muſt confeſs, this buſineſs cauſes me no ſmall chagrin.

WILLIAM R.

No. VII.

The Somers Papers.

In the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[It is well known, that the manuſcripts of this eminent ſtateſman and lawyer were deſtroyed by a fire which broke out at Lincoln's-Inn 1752. The honourable perſon *, in whoſe poſſeſſion they were, took pains to recover the fragments which the flames had ſpared; and, after correcting the damaged paſſages with his own hand, bound up the valuable remains in a folio volume. Such parts of them as are thought beſt to deſerve the public notice, and fitteſt to ſhew the weight which Lord Somers had with the Princes he ſerved, and the friends he ſupported, have been ſelected for this work, and it is hoped, will be thought one of the principal recommendations of it.

The world will, however, do that juſtice to the collection, as not to ſuppoſe that theſe ſpecimens from it, *immitis ignis reliquiæ*, will afford an adequate idea of its merit. It filled upwards of ſixty volumes in 4to, and did not contain a paper from Lord Somers's pen, which the moſt intimate friend would have wiſhed to ſecrete, or the bittereſt enemy could have fairly turned to his prejudice.

The Editor recollects, that the rough drafts of the *Treatiſe on Grand Jurors*, and the *juſt and modeſt Vindication of the laſt Parliaments of Charles* II. were preſerved in the hand-writing of Lord Somers; as likewiſe the famous laſt ſpeech of King William prepared for him by that noble Lord, when he was not actually in his Councils, but on the point of being reſtored to them.

There were minutes of two remarkable Cabinet Councils; one of them held on the ſecond Partition Treaty in 1699; when, in

* The Honourable Charles Yorke, Eſq; then at the bar.

anſwer to ſeveral objections made by the Lords preſent, Lord Portland, who had negociated and ſigned it, declared deciſively, as from the King, *That ſuch as it was, it muſt be taken or left, for no alterations could be made.* On which one of the Lords preſent (probably lord Somers himſelf) obſerved, "If that was the caſe, he ſaw no reaſon for calling them together." The ſecond Cabinet Council met in 1710, ſoon after the removal of the Lords Godolphin and Sunderland, when Mr. Harley, though not in office, was the real Firſt Miniſter; the Dukes of Shrewſbury and Somerſet at that time cloſely connected with him, were of it. At this Cabinet, Lord Somers, then Preſident of the Council, expreſſed himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt the turn which things were then taking, and plainly imputed the rupture of the conferences at Gertruydenberg on the part of the French, to the hopes they had conceived of a change of meaſures and men here. The ſpeech was pointed and ſtrong.

The collection was very copious about the great affair of the Union. There were letters to Lord Somers, from moſt of the Scotch Peers, who were active and zealous for it; particularly the Lords Stair and Marchmont.

There was in one of the volumes a ſketch of the plan, which Lord Somers had prepared for his defence in Weſtminſter Hall, had the frivolous and vexatious impeachment againſt him been brought to trial; and in another, ſome imperfect hints for an anſwer to ſuch parts of Lord Rocheſter's preface and dedication to his father's hiſtory as conveyed an unfavourable idea of King William's engaging in continental alliances, and neglecting the navy, and of the countenance given by the low churchmen to the diſſenters at that time.

For the exactneſs of theſe details, the Editor can ſafely rely on his memory, and hopes, they will not be unacceptable to the public, though they may augment its regret for the loſs of ſuch valuable hiſtorical memorials.]

1688-9.

Tranſcribed from Lord Somers's notes taken with a pencil.

NOTES of what paſſed in the Convention upon the day the queſtion was moved in the Houſe of Commons concerning the Abdication of King James II. *the 28th of January* 1688-9.

Mr. Dolben.

VACANCY in the government, and the King demiſed.—King withdrawn without proviſion.—Fact clear.—Law plain.—1. The word ſhews it.—2. The ſame reaſon for providing whether his demiſe be merely civil, or whether it be natural, as well as civil.—Chaſm in the adminiſtration.—Total failure of Juſtice.—Authorities.—Edward IV. upon the rumour of the Earl of Warwick's coming, fled: held to be a demiſe, and all proceedings diſcontinued.—Judges learned at that time, Lyttleton one.—*Obj.* Edward IV. returned.—*Anſw.* But that was by conqueſt.—Edward II. reſigned by dureſs, yet adjudged a demiſe in the ſame term.—1 Edward 3. 3.—Richard II. reſigned *per minas*.—Raſt. 528, b.—In this caſe *, departure voluntary.—King acknowledged it.—Did the ſame thing twice.—This conſonant to other laws.—Grotius.—Hottoman.—A Prince ceaſing to adminiſter juſtice, he ceaſes to be King.—Moves, that it is the opinion of the committee, that King James II. is demiſed, by voluntary departure, in conſequence of which the government is without a King.

Mr. Arnold

Seconded.

Sir R. Temple.

Before he went, deſtroyed all the foundations of the government.—In reſpect to parliament, what arts were uſed!—Turned out all men, who would not comply.—Modelled corporations.—Weſtminſter-hall an inſtrument of ſlavery and popery.—Judges turned out, till the

* *i. e.* James's.

1688-9. diſpenſing power owned.——Ordinary juſtice deſtroyed, and extraordinary relief prevailed.——This is falling from royal powers.——He is a tyrant who acts againſt his own laws.——Church ruled by eccleſiaſtical commiſſion law.——Freeholders by martial law.——If no vacancy, how came we here? What ſteps have been taken towards a compliance?——He ſuppreſſed the writs for calling a free Parliament.—Took away the Great Seal.—In breach of his oath endeavoured to ſubvert the government.——That relinquiſhed, as to the exerciſe.——Provide for yourſelves.——Your reſolution already declared, by placing the adminiſtration in the Prince of Orange.

Mr. Howe

Thinks it a forfeiture, though he has not the ſame fears.

Sir R. Howard

Inſtructed by three worthy perſons who have ſpoken.—Not merely to reſt it on *a demiſe*.——Other Engliſh Kings have ſucked in the poiſon of arbitrary power.——That not enough in this inſtance, our ſouls muſt have been enſlaved.——Nothing left to ſubvert.——Uſurped all civil and eccleſiaſtical power.——Violence ever attending his religion,——Corporations.——Cloſetting.——This Richard the Second's deſign.——High court of Special Juſtice, to ruin religious rights, as the diſpenſing power, the civil.——Aſk, if after this a King?——But a King can do no wrong.——This is to quit the part of a King, to act that of a tyrant.——Bracton.——Forteſcue.——Every man has a divine right to his life; forfeits it, if he breaks the compact.——So the King.——Compact is the origin of power.——Grotius ſays ſo.——People part of the legiſlative power.——*Abdication* of the government.——Declaration for liberty of conſcience would have ruined both Church and State together.——Right devolved on the people, and we muſt form ourſelves.——The King has abandoned us in deteſtation of his people as poiſoned; and meant to carry away from us all means to help ourſelves.——Moves ſome ſtronger words to be inſerted in the

queſtion.——That James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution, by breaking the original contract, &c. 1688-9.

Mr. Pollexfen.

If voluntary going, and nothing more in the caſe, then a deſcent; and if ſo, what do you here?——If not voluntary, conſider carefully on what to reſt it.——All agree the throne to be vacant.

Mr. Dolben.

Departure voluntary ſufficient.

Sir James Oxenden.

He went away with deſign to ſtir up all the foreign powers, ſo voluntary.

Sir H. Capel.

Inconſiſtency of our government with a popiſh head.——Queen Elizabeth laid the foundation of a proteſtant government.——Oath of ſupremacy.——Oath of allegiance.——Two principles of popery, 1ſt, No faith to be kept with heretics; 2d, Poſitive obligation to extirpate them.——Papiſts may be fair men, taken one with another; but when church or government concerned, they are in the power of prieſts.

Sir R. Sawyer.

Difference between an abdication and a diſſolution of the government to which the argument of ſome leads.——What then do we here, or the ſecond eſtate in the other houſe?——We are not the people collectively nor repreſentatively.——We are the third eſtate, in the regular courſe, and the conſtitution monarchial.——Copyholders, leaſeholders, &c. are the people.——Prince's declaration is for a Parliament, which ſuppoſes a conſtitution.——If diſſolution, Lords only repreſent their own vote as individuals, and ought not to meet as an eſtate.—Not in the minds of people to diſpoſe of crowns; but to ſet the government on its true bottom.——Reaſon why we ſhould come here; greater part of the other houſe aſſume it to themſelves to meet, on the ſame principle of *neceſſity*.——So the Prince and

1688-9. nation judged it.——Writs recalled.——King withdrawn.——No poſſibility to come at the Parliament.——Formalities uſed upon a natural demiſe. We have no power to decide of ourſelves, but muſt give the people's conſent.——People muſt declare what they think of this demiſe.——*Queſt.* Whether this departure ſo circumſtantiated is an abdication?——Thinks ſo.——Several breaches precedent are certain evidences *quo animo*.——Religion interwoven with the State.——To refuſe to govern according to the conſtitution is abſolutely to diſclaim the government.——And he who withdraws on ſuch account abdicates.——Never heard of ſo ſhort a reign ſo full of violence.——Declaration tells you what was his mind.——Putting all into the popiſh hands.——Suborning a Parliament.——Richard II. the only inſtance.——One remedy, as we judged, a Parliament.——Recalling his writs a continuation of his mind.——At liberty when beyond ſea, and yet no application towards adminiſtering.

Mr. Boſcawen.

We are ſuppoſed to be a repreſentative, and can be nothing elſe.——In former proclamations it was made out, that he being a King of ſuch a religion as he is, would do as he has done.——King gone away with his ſeal and child.——Throne vacant.——Should ſet up him who is moſt able to govern.——The author of all your miſchiefs.——Not to fight with a bulruſh.

Sir William Pulteney.

Crown deſcends not from heaven; then muſt come from the people.——If error to let him go, to recal him double.——Should attempt it with halters about our necks.——Crown often diſpoſed of by Parliaments.——Diſpenſing power.——Bringing in foreign juriſdiction.——No wrong done if not by him.——Said to be traiterous to diſtinguiſh between power and perſon, but all governments depend upon it.——To take it into our conſideration not to run back.——As little wrong as may be.——Conſider your deliverer.

——Do

——Do what your poſterity may bleſs you for.——Never expect the like game again. 1688-9.

Sir Thomas Clarges.

Crown void has a conſequence of an extraordinary nature.——To make an election, will turn conſtitution into a commonwealth.——The Prince took this to be a full and free repreſentative.

Sir William Williams.

Every man knows King James is out of the kingdom, and in France.——How left it, voluntarily or by compulſion, will not pretend to determine.——No adminiſtration left behind him.——That fails.——The conſtitution is broken.—— French intereſt repugnant to ours.——Is for declaring, that King James, in having become a Papiſt, and by withdrawing, has deprived the kingdom of the exerciſe of kingly government.

Serjeant Maynard.

Some Papiſts rule well, ſo leave it out.

Mr. Finch.

It is ſaid that he has loſt his crown by acts; and by going away has abdicated.——One conſequence can reſult from this queſtion, What it is?——If that conſequence be, that the conſtitution is devolved upon the people, few will come up to it.——If that the conſtitution is diſſolved, believes no wiſe man will come up to it.——If to declare the throne vacant, is to ſay, that he has loſt the inheritance, thinks even that further than any one will go.——The ſingle conſequence is, that James II. is not King.——Then is the throne filled with the next ſucceſſor.——The monarchy is not elective.——The monarch can only forfeit for himſelf.——The exerciſe in him for life; cannot diſpoſe of or reſign the inheritance.——Has difficulties.——Not excuſeable, what the King has done.——His going away does not ſeem a total renunciation.——We are not to ſend propoſals.——That will not conſiſt with our ſecurity.——Suppoſe the kingdom under an infant.——Security muſt conſiſt in the unanimous

1688-9. nimous concurrence of the kingdom.——Suppoſe the King miſinformed of the conſtitution, will that be a forfeiture?——King may endeavour to ſubvert the conſtitution, and ſo render it unſafe to live under him, becauſe he is ſo eaſily abuſed.——Nation may provide for the adminiſtration in caſe of lunacy:——So in this caſe.

Sir Thomas Lee.

The gentleman is debating the concluſion before he has ſettled the premiſes.——The King may adviſe his Miniſters, inſtead of being adviſed by them.

Mr. Finch.

Too late to debate the point I went upon, after this reſolution agreed to.——If the caſe be, as the gentleman ſtated it, there is only a ceſſation of the exerciſe.

Sir Chr. Muſgrave.

Part of the queſtion is, That the King has ſubverted the conſtitution.——But it is clear that remains ſtill.——No anſwer given to what has been ſaid.——Demiſe, abdication, &c. the ſame things.——There is an end of that queſtion.——The *right* and the *exerciſe* muſt be diſtinguiſhed.——Have a care of depoſing.——A kingdom near us *, which, if our reaſons do not ſatisfy, they may prove ill neighbours.——Would be clear, whether it be the intention to depoſe him.——If he has forfeited the inheritance, how would we ſupply?——If not, is under great difficulty as to declaring the throne vacant.

Mr. Wharton.

He is no more our King, whether he depoſes himſelf or not.——Not for the ſafety of moſt here, that he ſhould come back.

Sir Chr. Muſgrave.

All are equally in danger; deſire to know if the thing may be done, the King depoſed?

* Scotland.

Sergeant

Sergeant Maynard. 1688-9.

Whoever put that queſtion, I know not his meaning; but am afraid of it.——The true queſtion is, Whether the King has not depoſed himſelf?——Put the caſe, and it will appear no new one. ——All mixed government has its foundation in conſent——It is clear, that there may be tranſgreſſions, as will not amount to a forfeiture, but will prove to all that he ought to govern no onger.——The Papiſts pervaded all parts of government.—— The whole revenue was granted to the King by Parliament for life.——What was aſked in return?——Only that Popiſh officers might be diſmiſſed; and we were diſmiſſed inſtead of them.—— If what we are doing is wrong, every man is alike guilty. We have been alike involved in the ſame danger.——It was come to the ſame paſs, as Matthew Paris talks of in King John's time.—— Ireland yielded up: had infatuation enough to have induced him (like that King) to make a 500 years grant of the monarchy of England.——Remembers former times of confuſion; hopes theſe in the end will be as memorable for peace and order.——In the year 1641, Ireland filled with maſſacre and rebellion.—— 200,000 Proteſtants ſlain in a ſhort time; 500,000 left; what muſt have become of theſe under King James?——The native Iriſh, becauſe Papiſts, were let into all employments.——The King would have given away the ſoil; given up 500,000 of his ſubjects.— Was this like an Engliſh King? Can he ſell or give away his ſubjects?——An Act of Parliament was made to diſarm all Engliſhmen, whom the Lieutenant ſhould ſuſpect, by day or by night, by force or otherwiſe——This done in Ireland for the ſake of putting arms into Iriſh hands.——The engineer was called the King's Attorney, and bombs his *Quo warantos*.——Every Popiſh King, if he had power, would deſtroy all Proteſtants.——See their condition in —— France, —— Spain, —— Hungary. —— We do not depoſe him.——It is his own act.——If ſeven Biſhops preſent

an

1688-9. an humble petition, it is profecuted as a libel *.——We have ſeen all St. Omer's in his Majeſty's councils.——This deſign was dark, continued, uniform, to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion.——This neceſſarily complicated with deſign to deſtroy Proteſtants; to deſtroy Parliaments.——His religion juſtifies and commands this extended ruin.——The *mirror of juſtice* ſets down the beginning of this monarchy.——A King choſen and ſworn to laws, the conſtitution not ſubverted in reſpect to this right.——To ſay *abdicated* and *void*, the ſame thing.——If the government be abdicated, the throne is vacant.

Sir H. Capel.

Surpriſed to go on ſo ſlowly.——We could not prevent this Prince, before his time, from ſucceeding; now we cannot exclude him, having left us.——No conſtitution, which, in caſe of extremity, may not relieve itſelf.——Will you ſet him upon the throne?——If you limit him, and impoſe a regent, you alter the government.——It is ſaid, all this was owing to ill adviſers.——If thoſe be ill that adviſe, thoſe are faulty who plead for him.——You have collected the ſenſe of the Houſe, and are ripe for a reſolution.

Mr. Howe.
Mr. Harbord.
Sir J. Treby.

This is a matter which requires patience and calm thought.——Queſtion is, Whether we ſhall be overturned by popery and arbitrary power?——To determine whether we can depoſe, is to enter into a queſtion in vain as well as dangerous.——We find the throne vacant, and do not make it ſo.——A worthy perſon intimated that the crown was on the head of ſomebody; and that the King went out of his wits, as with lunacy, not abdicated the government.——If ſo, he could have told you who wears it; what can ſupply the government?——Take care whilſt we debate of ſub-

* Father Petre.

tilties,

tilties, and ſtart at ſhadows, leſt there be not a ſpot of ground in this country, on which a Proteſtant may ſet his foot.——It is ſaid by another Member, that we do not repreſent a fourth part of the nation, becauſe (forſooth) we are not elected by thoſe, who have no ſhare in the government by the conſtitution of it.——But is it now a queſtion, Whether we have authority?——We have exerciſed the higheſt: diſpoſed of the adminiſtration: appointed a thankſgiving.——The King has renounced his legal government, and fallen from it.——He that will not, or cannot exerciſe it according to law, is no longer King.——Two parts in government. ——Commanding and obeying.——Legiſlative power and executive. ——The diſpenſing power introduced into the latter, has overſet the rule eſtabliſhed by the former.——He cannot now treat with his people in parliament; has inſiſted on the inherent inſeparable authority in the crown to diſpenſe.——The High Commiſſion Court would have found pretences to deprive Proteſtants.—The diſpenſing power would have filled the church with Papiſts in their ſtead. ——As to the legiſlature,——when corporations were all diſſolved, he might have named his Parliament.——Between the regulators and dragoons, a Parliament would only have repreſented the King or the Papiſts.——Where the King infringes the liberty or property of a private man, we may ſooth, and pacify, and ſubmit.——But when the fundamental laws themſelves are invaded; when the malefactors who broke them are, by fraud or force, made the Parliament who frame laws: theſe are violations which ſhake off the King.—— Have we then occaſion to touch the queſtion of depoſing?——The higheſt article againſt Richard the Second was, that he pack'd a Parliament.——In 1607 King James the Firſt expreſſed his ſenſe clearly to the Parliament, when he ſaid, that the King leaving off to govern according to law, ceaſes to be King.——It was a great argument againſt the excluſion bill, that no other Papiſts beſides 1688-9.

1688-9. the King could be in office.——His friends anſwered for him, that the teſt law would be inviolable;—yet he pretended only to leave it in force as to the Houſe of Commons.——When petitioned by the Peers concerning it, how loth to yield to them?——See the conſequence of the credit which you gave him.——As to the motion, expreſs it as you pleaſe.——We are without a King.——I think, in his own judgment, he is fallen from the throne.——He ſwore to adminiſter the laws, which are free and Proteſtant.——But it ſeems he is under an higher obligation to break them.——Is not this to ſay, "My adminiſtration muſt be a contradiction to my office."——Is it not a renouncing?——His actions have all ſpoken it.——Recall him? his obligations are the ſame.——His laſt uſe of the great ſeal was to pardon the malefactors, his adviſers.——Moves to inſert the words "by advice of Jeſuites and other wicked perſons, having violated the fundamental laws, &c."

Mr. Finch.

Queſtion, If the King has loſt his title to the crown?——I think no man ſafe under his adminiſtration.——No ſafety but in the conſent of the nation.——The conſtitution being limited, there is a good foundation for defenſive arms.——It has given us right to demand full and ample ſecurity.——If there be an expedient wherein all may be ſecure, and all agree, that is the beſt.——1. We are to examine and inquire of the ſucceſſion.——2. Every man muſt ſwear to it as lawful and rightful.——In the prudential part, let what muſt occur to you on the ſecond head, guide you as to the firſt.——All would be ſecure; yet all cannot come up to what ſome of us ſeem inclined to determine in point of right.——Did not mean to capitulate with the King, but eſtabliſh the government.——Meant a regent in which all may agree.——That which comprehends moſt, will be moſt ſecure.——Would declare that the King

ought not to be intruſted with the adminiſtration; ſo ſhould be the queſtion. 1688-9.

Sir R. Howard.

A regency and the King are all one.——The queſtion, as moved and amended, takes in the ſenſe of the Houſe.——Much is ſaid of the ſucceſſion.——But we are the people.——And threaten ourſelves by ourſelves when the queſtion is aſked, ſhall we dare to chuſe? ——To talk of preſerving the ſucceſſion as ſacred, is to ſuppoſe the title of the prince.——A thing well cozened.——If he ſhould die, the King of France will find another.

Lord Fanſhawe.

It is ſaid the King has withdrawn himſelf.——Gone away by compulſion, in my judgment.——Heard him ſay, That he was afraid of being ſeized by his own ſubjects.——When he was at liberty at Feverſham, he came back.——Aſks, if we have power to depoſe?——In law, King can do no wrong; for that reaſon miniſters are called to account. No occaſion for haſte.

Lord Cornbury

Deſires the queſtion may be explained.

Mr. Roberts.

If the queſtion is to have no other conſequence than would follow on the King's natural demiſe, will go *nemine contradicente.*—— *Queſtion put in the Committee.*——*Three negatives.*

Lord Colcheſter

Moves to report it preſently.

Sir William Williams

Moves the Houſe to ſit to-morrow, and receive the report.

Sir J. Knight.

Arms of France invading all the rights of this kingdom.——Foreign plantations.——Ireland invaded.——Would immediately have a head.

1688-9.

Mr. Wharton.

To report immediately.

Mr. Wogan.

To-morrow.

Sir Rowland Gwyn.

Time precious, would report now.

Sir R. Sawyer.

To-morrow.

Sir Walter Young.

Immediately. May do more, now unanimous.

Sir J. Lowther.

Report what done to the Houſe, and conſider of it again to-morrow. For our honour to proceed deliberately.

Mr. Medlicot.

Security depends on diſpatch.

Sir J. Knight.

Conſider the bleeding condition of trade.

Agreed with the Committee by all but one in the Houſe.

Sir R. Howard

Moves to ſend up the reſolution to the Lords for their concurrence.

Mr. Boſcawen

Seconds.——Mr. Hampden to carry it up.

Reſolved, That King James the Second, having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is vacant.

Mr.

1688-9.

Mr. Hampden in the Chair, 29th January.

Colonel Birch.

King depoſed himſelf.——Fear upon him from his own guilt.——Continued attempts upon our liberties.——Nothing left but the diſpoſing of the people's money, and that challenged as a right laſt Parliament——From the Spaniſh match downwards, Popery has been coming.——The war followed.——King Charles delivered himſelf from two of the eſtates, by never calling them together for many years.——Ship-money.——Monopolies.——I will not determine, but he brought the character of his government near to what was ſolemnly declared yeſterday.——Popery and idolatry were at the bottom.——When the late King James would marry this Lady, I aſked a great man at that time, Whether he meant to perpetuate to his family a war with the Houſe of Commons?——Popery will not proſper but in an arbitrary and tyrannical ſoil.——Inconſiſtent, ruinous for a Proteſtant ſtate to be governed by a Popiſh Prince.——Moves to reſolve, that it is inconſiſtent with the ſafety of this Proteſtant kingdom to be governed by a Popiſh Prince.

Pilkington.

Seconded.

Sir R. Temple.

Found by experience that the government of a Popiſh Prince is inconſiſtent with the ends of government in a Proteſtant kingdom.

Sir R. Napper.

Woeful experience.

Sir R. Sawyer.

Inconſiſtent with the intereſt of a Proteſtant kingdom to be governed by a Popiſh King.——Law ought to be made; civil and religious rights interwoven.

Lord

1688-9.

Lord Faulkland.

Yeſterday allowed he was King.——Nothing inconſiſtent with our laws.——It is no offence to refuſe the teſt.

Tipping.

It has been found by experience inconſiſtent with the ſafety and welfare of a Proteſtant kingdom to be governed by a Popiſh Prince.

Sir William Williams.

A negative on this queſtion would be inconſiſtent with your vote yeſterday.——Paſſed *nem. con.*

Mr. Wharton.

Yeſterday the throne vacant.——All are for filling it again.——Adhere to the conſtitution as near as poſſible.——Buſineſs of the greateſt weight.——Pitch on none ſo well as the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.——Making them as capable of protecting us, as may be. Philip and Mary, King and Queen; William and Mary, King and Queen of England. Moves to *ſupply the vacancy of the throne.*

Sir Duncombe Colcheſter.

Our being here owing to the Prince.——Gratitude to pitch upon him.——Seconds.

Lord Faulkland.

I hope we ſhall ſecure ourſelves from arbitrary government as well as Popery.——Lay the foundation before we raiſe the building.——Two Kings the conſtitution will not bear in a joint ſovereignty.——We are likewiſe to ſee what regal power is.——Never leave the diſpenſing power doubtful, or the high commiſſion ſubſiſting.——Fundamentals too may be deſtroyed, by corrupting Parliaments.

Mr. Garway.

Conſider what terms muſt be made to provide really and effectually

ally for our own ſafety.——Not deliver up thoſe who ſent us.—— 1688-9.
But make ſuch proviſions as may prevent future invaders.

Sir William Williams.

Settle the terms.——Would enact no new conſtitution, but make declaration only, and purſue the old.——If any thing amiſs, find out the cauſes.——Then the remedies.——Then the perſons fitteſt to adminiſter.——The Prince's declaration ſtates much of your grievances.——The perſon is the laſt thing to be thought of.—— In the year 1660, there were many hard laws made grievous to the people.——Much enhanced the prerogative.——Corrupt judges and counſellors took courage from them.——That convention often cried out upon, for taking no better care.——King Charles II. a young man when called to the crown.——Vaſt ſums granted.——Militia act; an antecedent queſtion, Whether the power over it in the crown or people?——Said to be indecent, that he did not come into the crown with all its luſtre at that time. But now we ſpeak for England.——This is the time to be free, now the throne is vacant.——Corporation Act was arbitrary.——Weak and knaviſh judges will do knaviſh things.——They read none of the law books, and ſo read nothing to the contrary.——You have ſet an example of arbitrary proceeding.——Given power to levy a ſum of money without Parliament.——Adhere to the ancient conſtitution.——We are to look beyond the conqueſt.——Original contract in your votes.

Mr. Chriſty.

A Magna Charta.——Coronation oath to preſerve the proteſtant religion.

Sir Richard Temple.

Not launch into ſuch a ſea.——Three heads; 1ſt, Provide againſt encroaching on Parliaments for poſterity.—Certainty of them.—— Triennial bill taken away in a thin houſe.——Not only called to ſerve the ends of the crown.——That no pardons may be trumped upon us.——Election of Parliament ſecured, by making corporations

1688-9. tions tools.——2d, Standing army ſettled without conſent of Parliament, though no part of conſtitution.——May be allowed in caſe of war, invaſion, or rebellion.——Militia bill.——Power to diſarm all England.——Now done in Ireland.——3d, Weſtminſter-hall muſt be better filled, with perſons who are honeſt, and are judges for life with fixed ſalaries.——Take care as to juries; ſheriffs; ſtrange fines.——As little as may be of power to be directed by the diſcretion of the judges, who did not decide great queſtions formerly, but ſent them into Parliament.——That was the occaſion of calling Parliaments frequently.——Let the oath of King be taken by them (the Prince and Princeſs of Orange) before they enter into government. ——Prince has called upon you to purſue the ends of his declaration.

Lord Ranelagh.

Prince's declaration, a good foundation to build a ſettlement upon.——His letter confirms it.

Mr Boſcawen.

Arbitrary power exerciſed by the Miniſtry.——Acts of long Parliament.——Corporation Act.——That the ſame with the reſolution.——The moſt loyal or deſerving, turned out.——Militia.—— Impriſoning without reaſon; diſarming.——Himſelf diſarmed.—— Trophy-money, &c.——Triennial bill.——Neceſſity begot it.—— Nothing hindered us from going into ſlavery but that bill, ſaid by Lord Chief Juſtice Hales.——Moves, that before the committee proceed to the nomination of any perſon to fill the vacancy of the throne, they will provide ſuch things as are abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring our religion, laws, and liberties.

Sir J. Knight.

We ſhall find the Papiſts immediately upon us.

Serjeant Maynard.

Two things moved.——One to fill the vacancy of the throne, the other before we fill the vacancy, to make proviſion for our ſecurity.

 ——Agree

——Agree with the laſt part of the ſecond queſtion, but would not delay to ſupply the throne, leſt, inſtead of an arbitrary government, we ſhould have none.——It has been ſaid, we muſt go beyond the conqueſt.——Puzzled to find what was law in the Saxon times; tedious and fruitleſs ſearch.——Some particulars well propounded.——Some groſs grievances for which we are beholden to a Parliament, who cared not what was done, ſo their penſions were paid.——Militia Act.——An abominable thing to diſarm the nation, to ſet up a ſtanding army.——Corporation Act carried into execution with a high hand.——If any man offered to ſtir, to remonſtrate, to complain, it was cried out by ſome, the act of oblivion too large.——Could name them.——Acts of violence.——Corruption of judges, inſtead of *durante bene placito*, ſhould be *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*. ——But we muſt ſo take care for the future, as not to be loſt at preſent.——The army has been corrupted formerly, may be again. —Let us not delay to ſet the government in motion, under whatever fair pretence, leſt we give occaſion to moles, who work under ground, to deſtroy the foundations you laid yeſterday.——This is my fear, dictated by the knowledge and experience of paſt times; and this, as a true Engliſhman, who love my country better than my life.—— The things mentioned are obvious in your preſent ſituation, eaſy to be attained.——But it is eſſential, and of immediate neceſſity there ſhould be a King.——The law has ſo bound the King (whether you declare it anew or not) that he can do no wrong, unleſs wicked counſellors adviſe to break it; but in this there can be no miſtake for ignorance.——You are without power, without juſtice, without mercy; other things require time, and admit of it. 1688-9.

Lord Faulkland.

Would juſtify myſelf to thoſe who ſent me hither, as not merely wanting to change hands.——Satisfaction of the people as well as army.——If we act with love of the people we ſhall purſue their intereſt.

1689-9.

Mr. Sacheverel.

Shall be laughed at, if not look after ourſelves now.—When the Prince declares your ſecurity ſhall be laſting.—No man knows what he can call his own, unleſs you look very far back.——Diſarmed and impriſoned without cauſe.——Scarce three laws of twenty years deſerve to be continued.——Money.——Overſhot themſelves at that time (1660) not to do ſo now.——Way to have a good law aboliſhed, if you did but name it.——Proved that many penſioners agreed for ſo much in the hundred for all they gave.——An old law ſtill in force, the Parliaments ſhall not be prorogued, till all the grievances be redreſſed: when ſuch grievances brought in here, we were ſent away the next day.——Warrants to take up all Nonconformiſt miniſters, or ſuch as were thought to be diſaffected to the government, becauſe they endeavoured to chuſe members whom they (the court) did not like.——Secure Parliaments rightly and duly choſen.——Their ſitting ſo as not to be broken up at pleaſure.——No extravagant revenue to be granted as may enable the crown to carry whom it pleaſes into elections.——Make falſe returns more penal.——Am for proceeding to theſe things before you fill the vacancy.

Mr. Pollexfen.

Whatſoever things you would declare, will not only require conſideration here, but muſt be agreed by Lords as well as Commons. ——The propoſition excellent in itſelf, but if it have the effect to confound us, a dreadful propoſition.——Am as willing as any to apply redreſs to grievances.——But to delay ſupplying the government, will reſtore the King.——View the preſent condition of the kingdom. If this ſhould go beyond ſea, that we are bounding the kingly power, before there is one to aſſume the exerciſe, what conſequence will it have?——Unleſs jealous of friends, your worſt enemies cannot hinder you from coming to a ſettlement.——See what delay is doing.——This month has loſt one King.——The army ready to mutiny.—Every factious intereſt will run in there.——Fear

of

of Popery has united; when that is over, we ſhall divide again.—— 1688-9.
It was thought impoſſible formerly that Popery ſhould come here.——
King James long ſince ſeemed to declare, "That cannot be done till I am King."——As to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; you have no reaſon to miſtruſt good words, unleſs it be accompanied with ill actions.——But their actions abroad give me reaſon to believe them really Proteſtants.——His declaration ſpeaks the ſame thing.——His actions confirm it.——He might have taken the crown, inſtead of leaving us in debate.——You have no laws till there is a King.——Thoſe who prevailed by arms, in the late times, in coming to a conſtitutional government, ruined themſelves.——If Oliver had ſettled into a government, he might have ſaved his party.——We buſied ourſelves about a bill of excluſion ſome time ſince.——Some for that bill; others for limitations.——We talked ſo long about it, that we were ſent away without doing any thing.——Will there be leſs talk now on theſe points of right?——Beſides, your terms may be ſuch at laſt, that when you come to offer the crown with new limitations, not known before, it may be rejected.——Common deſtruction will overtake us, whilſt we debate theſe things, without the protection of a legal government.

Lord Faulkland.

No doubt of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.——What is done by us before the offer of the crown will be no argument of diſtruſt.——What has been felt in the two laſt reigns is a ſufficient ground for us to proceed.

Mr. Garway.

Somewhat muſt be done.——Many things named.——Repreſent our ſenſe to him.——That it may be paſſed hereafter into laws.

Sir Edward Seymour.

Good things often ſuffer by overdoing.——Not for making new laws, but declaring old.——Declare againſt diſpenſing power; power

1688-9. of Weſtminſter Hall.——Great part of the revenue depends on the demiſe of the King.——Can we diſpoſe of a crown, and not have power to ſecure ourſelves?——Not live like a ſlave in England.——Adminiſtration is in the Prince's hands.——Conſider the end of your meeting.

Sir T. Lee.

The objection is ſpending long time.——Amongſt others, this opinion ſhould be exploded, That the King can raiſe what forces he thinks fit in England, provided he can pay them.——He who firſt broached this doctrine, obtained a great place in judicature.

Sir T. Clarges.

Neceſſary ſomething ſhould be done for common ſafety, and to purſue the Prince's deſires.——Moves, that a committee may be appointed to draw up ſome heads to be preſented to our chief governor, when declared.

Colonel Birch.

If the Prince of Orange would live till we are all dead, we might hope for ſafety under him.——Our ſecurity muſt be in ſettling the government whilſt we have him.——Yet the diſcontents will riſe much higher, if you do not do ſomewhat beſide filling the throne.——As to the time, it cannot take a day, only to mention them as heads.——We have reſolved to faſt to-morrow (30th of January) we know what we faſt for.——We have often ſat on the Lord's day.——May take up our thoughts to-morrow.——Some ſuch declaration will give you more ſtrength and credit.——By way of addition to what has been obſerved on that head, think hearth-money a badge of ſlavery.——The taking away of that law will bring him more ſtrength than twenty armies.——The queſtion, as juſt moved, is not too general; may truſt ourſelves.

Mr. J. Hampden.

We make free thus to act for a nation not tied by oaths.——Know, time preſſes.——They will aſk why the King has abdicated

the government.——If you declare the conſtitution, it will be no law that can bind.——Have looked into the journals, and find the convention in 1660, was of King, Lords, and Commons. 1688-9.

Sir William Pulteney.

Difficulties on each hand.——Would have a committee appointed to draw up heads.

Mr. Dolben

Has a reaſon for diſpatch in his hand.——Letter from a noble Lord in Ireland, that juſt ready to execute.

Mr. Harbord.

Nobody will go farther for maintaining the conſtitution.——A principal thing is to make examples of thoſe who broke it.——Security infallible.——The revenue is gone by the vacancy.——Cannot theſe things be doing in the mean time that you ſettle the government?——The Dutch are calling home their troops with impatience.——Factions in the army.——If theſe break out, where are all your laws and declarations?——Preſerve your government.——It is the ſword of a King muſt protect you.

Sir R. Sawyer.

Some complain of laws; ſome of the tranſgreſſion of the laws.—Offences puniſhable in Parliaments, and in ordinary courts.——Great offences are to be puniſhed in Parliament.——No proviſion.——Would you make another contract with your Prince than your anceſtors have done?——Nothing can be done till it is debated.——Are you ſatisfied the laws are good?——Declare no power of ſuſpending; and that Parliament ſhall ſit ſome ſtated time.——Work cut out, will employ ſeveral weeks.

Sir R. Temple.

Go on preſently to declare the neceſſary heads.——Convention of 1660, which brought in the King made ſeveral acts.

Sir

1688-9.

Sir T. Littleton.

Soon agreed in two things.——1ſt, To fill the government.——2d, To ſecure our liberties.——This may be done in a little time by naming the heads.——Refer it to a committee.

Sir J. Guiſe.

When fill up *vacancy*, the ſame time preſent a declaration.——Appoint a committee, and at the ſame time proceed to nominate.

Sir Charles Muſgrave.

No power to appoint a committee.——Reſtrain your queſtion.—Cannot anſwer it to the nation or Prince of Orange, till we declare what are the rights invaded.——When you declare your grievances, every man will take them to be the reaſon of your vote yeſterday.—Make your wheels before you put the cart on.——Declare your antient government, then ſet it up.——Motion, that before the committee proceed to nominate a perſon to fill the throne, That the Houſe be moved to appoint a committee to bring in general heads.

Mr. Garroway.

An eſſay has been collected by a worthy gentleman.

Mr. Pollexfen

Reads a paper.——Unleſs Parliaments regulated, no ſecurity.—Clauſe about pardons to be added.

Sir H. Capel.

Parliament ſo truly Engliſh.——No prejudice to the crown in taking care of our properties.——Security to it.——The crown indebted to the proceedings of this day.——Two witneſſes to one fact in treaſon.

Sir William Williams.

Collect a queſtion.

Sir R. Hobart.

Extravagant bail.——Lord Lieutenants.

Lord

1688-9.

Lord Faulkland.

Exorbitant fines.

Colonel Birch.

The paper only an eſſay.

Sir H. Temple.

King's Bench.

Tipping.

Council in caſes of treaſon and felony.

Ettrick.

To proceed to nominate, looks like election.

Mr. Poley

Seconds it, not to uſe the word nominate, as it comes ſo near electing, in the queſtion about ſupplying the vacancy.

Mr. Sacheverel.

Declare is too much; the Lords may quarrel.

Sir J. Lowther.

If you make ſuch declaration before vacancy ſupplied, may admit of another conſtruction abroad, and in France, than intended here. ——Of equal uſe to you to make ſuch declaration without notice taken, of intention to ſupply afterwards. So leave out the firſt part of the queſtion.

Jephſon.

Give no occaſion to enemies abroad.

Medlicot.

Declare inſtead of nominate.——Paſſed *nem. con.*

Lord Faulkland.

Now ready to nominate your committee.——Move the Houſe that the gentlemen of the long robe may proceed.

Sir Thomas Clarges.

Intention that no ſuch thing ſhould be done.——Ordered to report the vote to the Houſe, That it is the opinion of the committee that it is inconſiſtent with the ſafety, &c.

1688 9.

Mr. Hampden

Reports, Firſt reſolution, *nem. con.* To appoint a committee to bring in general heads of ſuch things as are abſolutely neceſſary to be conſidered for the better ſecuring of our religion, and laws, and liberties.

Sir H. Capel

Moved to add theſe words, To the end that we may more ſpeedily proceed to fill up the vacancy of the throne.

Mr. Sacheverel.

No reaſon for it.——Moves to deſire the concurrence of the Lords to the firſt vote.

Mr. Hampden

To carry it up.——Naming the committee, every one to ſtand up.

Sir Joſeph Tredenham.

Exorbitances of *Weſtminſter Hall* moſt complained of.——Not to go upon general words of the long robe.

Mr. Howe.

May be, ſome of the gentlemen of the long robe guilty.

Lord Dunblain.

Long robe as great a grievance as any.

Mr. Harbord.

Committee to meet to-morrow about eight o'clock in the ſpeaker's chambers.

Mr. Jephſon.

Great buſineſs on our hands. To ſit to-morrow.

Lord Wiltſhire.

Defer filling up the vacancy no longer than the Houſe needs muſt. Sit to-morrow.

Lord Ranelagh.

Not to ſit to-morrow; keep acts of Parliament, not break them. ——Committee appointed to meet to-morrow.

Mr.

1688-9.

Mr. Leviſon Gower.

Reflection to ſit to-morrow, ſo it would be not to ſit at all.—— Hope they will diſpatch by that time, and we to ſit to-morrow at two o'clock.

Lord Faulkland.

Sir J. Guiſe.

Seconded.

Sir R. Napper.

Mr. Boſcawen.

Sir R. Howard.

Nothing diſingenuous.——Agreed to ſit to-morrow at two o'clock.

WILLIAM III. 1693.

Lord Nottingham to Lord Keeper Somers.

My Lord,

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordſhip, that his Majeſty has appointed Mr. Ward to be his Attorney General, that your Lordſhip may give directions for the diſpatch of his patent. When I waited on your Lordſhip, you mentioned my Lord Powis's houſe *, as being convenient for you. I do not remember whether your Lordſhip ſaid, that the King had given any orders in it; and therefore I ſpoke to the Queen of it this morning; and her Majeſty is well pleaſed to let you have it; and I ſhall accordingly acquaint the Lords of the Treaſury, ſo that you need not think of any other houſe.

I am, my Lord, your Lordſhip's,
moſt humble and faithful ſervant,

March 1693. NOTTINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper Somers.

Lord Keeper Somers to King William.

Sent to the King at Harwich.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, March 27th, 1693.

IT is no ſmall misfortune to me, that before I enter upon the execution of the great truſt with which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to honour me, I ſhould find myſelf under the neceſſity of giving your Majeſty a trouble in relation to it.

* Then in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, afterwards Newcaſtle Houſe.

Nothing

WILLIAM III. 1693.

Nothing but the utmoſt concern for your ſervice could have brought me to do it now, or ſhall ever hereafter lead me to do the like.

My Lord Nottingham, ſince your departure, has told me Sir William Rawlinſon is to be chief Baron; Sir William Wogan, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter; and Mr. Ward, Attorney General.

Your Majeſty having laid no commands on me relating to any of them; I think it my duty, before I act any thing in this matter, with all humility to repreſent to your Majeſty what conſequence it may have.

The lawyers being ſpread over every part of the kingdom, and having a great influence among the people, the method uſed to unite them in their ſervice to the crown, has been by obliging them to a dependance upon the Great Seal, for their promotion, where they merited. This has always given a weight to that office in public affairs; and, if I underſtand your Majeſty right, the making the Great Seal thus conſiderable, was one of the effects you expected, from placing it in a ſingle hand. But I ſubmit to your Majeſty, how far this is likely to ſucceed, or any other of your Majeſty's ends be anſwered, if ſuch eminent offices are diſpoſed of, in ſuch a manner, at my entrance on this charge.

I do not meddle with any conſiderations of the perſons themſelves, though I know not but your Majeſty might expect it from me; and it may not be improper to obſerve to your Majeſty, how much it has been to the honour of your reign, that your Judges have been of known ability in the law; and that it is the particular concern of the crown, that the Chief Baron ſhould be experienced in the courſe of the Exchequer, and knowing in the Common Laws.

As to the place of the Attorney, your Majeſty having been pleaſed to expreſs your purpoſe to advance Sir Thomas Trevor to that office, to ſeveral perſons, it was not in my power to make it a ſecret, and

WILLIAM III. 1693.

your Majeſty having divers times commanded me to find out a Solicitor, I was under the neceſſity of propoſing it to Mr. Ward, whom I thought a fit man, before I could name him to your Majeſty; and ſo that could not be concealed.

This being the caſe, let me humbly offer it to your Majeſty's conſideration, whether, if the paſſing theſe patents muſt be the firſt uſe I am to make of the Seal, it can be ſuppoſed I have that credit which ought always to go along with it, and without which it is impoſſible it ſhould reach any part of what your Majeſty aimed at in the change.

Your Majeſty will bear me witneſs, that I had a juſt proſpect of the difficulties of this charge; and that nothing but a perfect reſignation to your Majeſty, together with a gracious aſſurance of your ſupport, engaged me to enter upon it. Upon this ſupport, I do, and muſt depend; and whatever your Majeſty might expect from the ſeal in my hand, muſt fail, if there be any the leaſt want of it.

Having diſcharged my duty in this faithful repreſentation to your Majeſty; I lay the ſeal and myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, with an entire ſubmiſſion to your will and pleaſure. I am,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful, moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſubject and ſervant,

J. SOMERS *.

* Notwithſtanding this letter, Mr. Ward was made Attorney General; but not long after, on his promotion, Sir Thomas Trevor was appointed to that office.

Letter from the Duke of Shrewſbury to Lord Somers, with the Warrant to be a Baron.

My Lord,

I HAD his Majeſty's commands laſt night to have waited on your Lordſhip this morning with the incloſed; but being informed that you are not at home, I take the liberty to ſend it you. I had directions to have ſaid every thing I could imagine to perſuade you to accept of a title, and the King is really convinced it is for his ſervice you ſhould. I beg the anſwer I may have, may be a bill for the King's ſigning. As for arguments, I have uſed all I have already; and by your objections, you may give me leave to tell you, that you are as partial and unreaſonable with too much modeſty, as ſome are with too much ambition. I hope you will not only pardon me for telling you your fault, but that you will correct it, and believe me with great truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and obedient ſervant,

May 8, 1695. SHREWSBURY.

Duke of Shrewſbury to Lord Somers.

My Lord, 14th April, 1697.

I AM extremely ſorry for your Lordſhip's indiſpoſition, but hope it will not prove ſo troubleſome, as a quartan ague often does.

My Lord Sunderland and I were attending on the king, when your letter came: his Majeſty diſcourſed with us on the ſeveral heads we had formerly mentioned; but deferred coming to any reſolutions till your Lordſhip could be preſent.

* The

WILLIAM III. 1697.

The naming a deputy or deputies for Ireland was the firſt point conſidered. Lord Sunderland named only my Lord Villiers, and it had as quick a negative. Then I perceived he looked upon me, and expected I ſhould name my Lord Wharton. I pauſed ſome time; but being preſſed by the King to name ſome perſon, I ſaid I had two in my thoughts; the firſt, I knew, was very deſirous to go, had very particularly deſerved well of his Majeſty, and was in great ſtraits in his fortune, and that was my Lord Wincheſter; the ſecond, I was confident every body would agree to be fit, but I could not be ſure how agreeable it would be to his inclinations, and that was my Lord Wharton. The King objected to my Lord Wincheſter's qualifications, but agreed to the other arguments I had uſed for his being qualified; but wiſhed it might be done ſome other way. Lord Sunderland agreed entirely with the firſt part of his Majeſty's diſcourſe; but ſaid not ſo much as I expected to the ſecond. Then the King came to conſider my Lord Wharton, and ſpoke of him with very particular kindneſs and eſteem; but he could not imagine he would be eaſy in being one of three; that he was ſure, when he reflected my Lord Capell had been alone, it was impoſſible he ſhould, even though at this time it might ſatisfy him; yet that thought would change him; and, ſaid he, "My Lord Wharton has very good parts, but I think no more of his liking to be one of three in Ireland, than I ſhould to have two joined to me here." No reſolution was taken on this point. But I ſaid, I thought my Lord Wharton might be tried how it would pleaſe him; ſo that I think that affair is in a poſture to receive what turn ſhall be thought fit to give it.

Mr. Wharton was agreed to be in the Admiralty without difficulty, and Mr. Pelham in the Treaſury. Some objections were made by the King to Mr. Montague's being firſt in the commiſſion; but not long inſiſted on. Then his Majeſty acquainted us, there would be one vacancy more, if not two at the Board; Mr. Smith having

WILLIAM III. 1697.

aſked an audience of the King, and told Lord Portland, he was reſolved to reſign; and the ſame was expected from Sir Stephen Fox, though nothing lately had been ſaid of it. We, being unprepared to offer others for the Treaſury, were directed to conſider further of it.

Then his Majeſty ſaid, ſome alterations were neceſſary in the cuſtoms and exciſe; and particularly named Sir Robert Clayton as one who neither attended the Board, nor encouraged his ſervice in the city, by loan or ſubſcription; and upon that occaſion declared, that ſeveral had ſo behaved themſelves this ſeſſion, that if no puniſhment were made, no government could be expected for the future; and ſaid, This muſt not be extended partially to one kind of men, but ſome ſhould be diſplaced of different denominations. In general, I agreed with this; but ſubmitted, that a diſtinction was reaſonable to be made between perſons who had done wrong only once through ignorance, and thoſe who, in the whole courſe of buſineſs, had continually oppoſed. This argument met with ſo cold a reception, that I think it is not hard to gueſs what was meant by that ſpeech; though I think if it be intended againſt Sir Walter Young and Mr. Clarke, we are obliged (I am ſure I think myſelf ſo) to ſtand by them. This ſort of diſcourſe naturally brought on that of my Lord Preſident *, &c. and I was ſurpriſed to find how eaſy the King was in parting with him, and his conſequences. He ſaid, the whole family of the Berties were againſt him, and declared himſelf not ſatisfied even with the Vice-Chamberlain; but Lord Sunderland excuſed him. I perceive all that, as to the Vice-Chamberlain, is ſo prepared that it may be done as ſhall be thought beſt.——I have given your Lordſhip this long account, becauſe a meeting will very ſoon be preſſed by my Lord Sunderland. It were very convenient, your Lordſhip, Mr. Ruſſell, Mr. Montague, and myſelf, could have half

* Duke of Leeds.

an

WILLIAM III. 1698.

an hour's diſcourſe firſt; but how poſſible that is with your other buſineſs muſt be ſubmitted, by,

My Lord,

Your moſt faithful and obedient ſervant,

SHREWSBURY.

From the Duke of Shrewſbury to Lord Somers.

My Lord, Eyford, Oct. 15, at night, 1698.

THE Lords Juſtices of Ireland having wrote to me to the ſame effect they have to your Lordſhip, their reaſons for what they deſire ſeem ſtrong to me; ſince, as they ſtate the caſe, the King's prerogative would be aſſerted by the linen bill, and the woollen trade would be regulated by the heads the Commons are preparing in Ireland; and by the method they propoſe, the ſucceſs of this ſeſſions would be unqueſtionable; which, in the other, I preſume is very hazardous, and the miſcarriage of the ſeſſion will be imputed to this woollen bill's being crammed down their throats, which (as it is repreſented) they are willing to ſwallow, to the ſame effect in their own way. And if it ſhould be ſuſpected, that the Parliament in Ireland ſhould not be ſincere in their intentions in propoſing effectual heads for a woollen bill, one may be framed in the Council of Ireland, and approved here; and ſo might be tranſmitted with an order from hence, to be obſerved in caſe the other were too long delayed, but with a liberty to the Lords Juſtices in Ireland, to defer preſenting it, in caſe they ſhould paſs another, proceeding originally from the Parliament there, which would be as effectual and more likely to paſs.

SHREWSBURY.

WILLIAM III. 1698.

Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewſbury *.

My Lord,

I AM extremely glad of the favour of your Grace's letter by Mr. Stone, becauſe it would give me a pretence of troubling you with a letter, which I have wiſhed for a good while.

Since that, Mr. Secretary * ſhewed me a letter of your Grace's to him upon the ſame ſubject. I apprehended your thoughts to be the ſame, as they appeared to be by the ſecond letter.

The chancellor † of Ireland wants extremely ſome pretence, whereupon to lay the blame of the miſcarriage of this ſeſſion. He alone adviſed it, and undertook it; unleſs it be true, which ſome ſay, that my Lord Coningſby went into it at laſt, and thereby deſerved the whole office of paymaſter.

Whether that be ſo or not, I do not know, but the undertaking of the former, did not only give him a great credit, all the laſt year, but has drawn the King into all the inconveniencies, which an abrupt ſeſſion, the ſending the French troops into Ireland, and the diſappointment of their being provided for there, may probably bring upon us.

The council had paſſed both the bills a week before I heard there would be the leaſt oppoſition to either; ſo that it was not poſſible to forbear to ſend them; but they are tranſmitted under two diſtinct Great Seals, that ſo they may be at liberty to act as they pleaſe, in offering them to the Houſe of Commons; with a letter to the Privy Council of Ireland, to put them in mind, that the bill for impoſitions on the woolen manufacture did not ariſe from hence; that we never heard of it, till the Chancellor propoſed it to the juſtices here, as the proper Money Bill to be offered, to exclude the ſole right,

* From the contents of this letter, it appears to have been written towards the cloſe of the year 1698. * Vernon. † Methuen.

WILLIAM III. 1698.

and as a thing agreed to by the gentlemen in Ireland; and that the Lords Juſtices then told him, they would not pretend to give any opinion of a matter, which was only proper for the Lords Juſtices and council of Ireland, who knew mens thoughts of ſuch a bill.

The letter further adds, That the juſtices have had no opinion of the bill; the duties laid by it being in no ſort ſufficient to bring the manufactures of the two kingdoms to a par; ſo that if they ſhould be of opinion, that the bill for encouraging the linen manufacture was ſuch a money bill, as would ſecure the King's prerogative, which they knew was all that the King expected from them, they might act as they pleaſed.

The bill impoſes ſome pecuniary penalties indeed, which of late the Houſe of Commons in England, in their diſputes with the Lords, call a Money Bill; but ſurely the Commons in Ireland did never think of carrying their ſole right ſo far. It does alſo impower the Grand Juries in the ſeveral counties, to aſſeſs a ſum for building work-houſes. If that would make it a Money Bill, there were many Money Bills paſſed in England laſt winter; but there is not any thing granted to the King by the bill.

We have alſo ſent the letter from the privy-council to the king, with a deſire of knowing his pleaſure upon the whole, as to the ſending orders into Ireland.

How much is reaſonably to be expected from the Houſe of Commons, your Grace will judge by the laſt letter; for they have voted a ſupply of a hundred and thirty-eight thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds, which will go but a little way towards paying an eſtabliſhment, which the King intended ſhould be offered to them (though it be not) reaching to three hundred thouſand pounds, as to the military part only. Yet the attempt for an addreſs to diſband the French regiments, though it was carried againſt it by twenty-nine votes, and the oppoſition the other matter had in the

Committee

Committee and the Houſe, where it was carried for agreeing with the Committee by twenty voices, ſeem, in my thoughts, to forbode but very ill. WILLIAM III. 1698.

I aſk your pardon for having troubled you ſo long with Ireland; but I hope your Grace's letter will help me, in ſome ſort, to an excuſe. Forgive me, if I add one thing more, which is, That it has been long my opinion, that this nation was not likely to ſee that kingdom tolerably ſettled, unleſs we could ſee your Grace at the head of it.

I do not repeat this with any impertinent deſign of drawing you from your preſent retirement till you think fit; much leſs to be ſuggeſting it to others, to renew their importunities, which have made you very uneaſy.

But I hope you will give me leave to beg your advice, what part I am to act upon the King's coming home. I own myſelf to be entirely at a loſs, what is to be aimed at. It is as yet uncertain, what will be the temper of the Parliament. The elections were made on an ill foot; uneaſineſs at taxes, and the moſt dangerous diviſion of a court and country party; ſo that there is reaſon to doubt of the behaviour of many of your beſt friends.

The King would in no ſort declare himſelf before he went: I ſuppoſe, to ſee which faction would get the better upon the ſtruggle. Whether he will not ſit ſtill upon the ſame reaſon, till he ſees the event of the ſeſſion, is hard to ſay.

At preſent he is without any thing, which has the appearance of a miniſtry. The plain conſequence of which is, that every body, (ſeeing the little credit thoſe have who ſerve him) is in a manner, invited to endeavour to ruin or expoſe them.

If one could have his wiſh, it is very hard to find men to ſupply even preſent vacancies; eſpecially conſidering the King's prejudices to ſome, and his fondneſs for others, and the power which my Lord

WILLIAM III. 1698.

Sunderland ſtill has. There is nothing to ſupport the Whigs, but the difficulty of his piecing with the other party; and the almoſt impoſſibility of finding a ſet of Tories, who will unite.

So that, in the end, I conclude it will be a pieced buſineſs, which will fall aſunder immediately.

The caſe of Mr. Montague*, I fear, will have a very ill effect for us. I wiſh it may end well for himſelf. It was very ſuddenly done, nor do I know how the King takes it. If he quits the treaſury, I ſee no body likely to ſucceed, who will go on in the ſame way; and if he keeps both places, it will add much to that envy, which is already too ſtrong.

Mr. Montague † to Lord Somers.

My Lord, ‡ May 2, 1700.

I CAME to town laſt night upon a very extraordinary occaſion; and finding you out of town, muſt give you an account of it. After I had taken my leave of the Duke of Shrewſbury, which was at dinner, he ſent to ſpeak with me. He ſeemed much ſurprized with a letter he had juſt received from Mr. Secretary §, which he ſhewed me. In it Mr. Secretary tells him, that Lord Sunderland has found out a method, whereby the ſeal may again be put into your hands; that my Lord Sunderland would have acquainted him with it, if he could have ſeen him on Tueſday (for he was then ſick) and deſired he would ſtay till to-morrow at Hampton-Court, that he might inform him of it. He adviſed with me what he ſhould do; he had taken leave of the King, and had no pretence to ſtay. This

* Mr. Montague reſigned his ſeat at the treaſury-board, to accept the auditor's office, which was held for him in truſt by his brother Chriſtopher. He certainly foreſaw a ſtorm riſing; but not conſulting this ſtep with his friends, was deſervedly blamed for it.

† Afterwards Lord Halifax.

‡ Lord Somers was removed at the end of the preceding month.

§ Vernon.

ſeems

ſeems only like a ſhift of Lord Sunderland to leſſen the odium, and to be an attempt you probably would not like. I did not know what to make of it; but upon the beſt conſideration I then had, I made no great account of the propoſal; adviſed him to go to Wobourn, and to write to Mr. Secretary, to explain the propoſition; and, if he thought fit, to let me know what it was; and promiſed that, if he did, and I thought it likely to ſucceed, I would come over there to-morrow night, and fetch him to finiſh it.

This he approved, and wrote immediately to the Secretary; and, before he went away, ſent the incloſed to me. I know not what to make of all this; only one thing is plain, that it is not ſettled who is to ſucceed you. I am come to town only to tell you this, and ſhall return to-morrow morning. I ſhould be glad of a line from you, if you think there is any occaſion for it. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

CHA. MONTAGUE.

Duke of Bolton to Lord Somers.

My Lord, Sept.

ACCORDING to my promiſe, this is to acquaint you with what paſſed between the Duke of Shrewſbury and me. As we went to Mr. Montague's, he took an opportunity of opening himſelf, and introduced it by ſaying, That if my Lord Rocheſter came in, he believed he ſhould preſs to have the Duke of Ormond go for Ireland, but that the King himſelf was averſe to it of all things. So then he ſpoke as to himſelf, and made all the aſſeverations in the world, that he never aſked to go; but that the King ſet my Lord Sunderland, Mr. Secretary Vernon, and my Lord Coningſby to perſuade

WILLIAM III. 1700.

perſuade him to it; and being reſolved to quit his white ſtaff, the King made him a great many compliments, and ſaid that he would not have him quite deſert his ſervice; and aſked him, if he would go into Ireland; and he anſwered, That his health would not permit him: So then the King told him, he, may be, might be better in the country, ſo deſired him to conſider of it; ſo, he ſaid, to be eaſy, he ſaid he would. That as ſoon as he came into the country, and heard the change that was, he immediately wrote to the King, that he could not go for Ireland; ſo upon this, I told my Lord, that, upon the grounds I writ him, I thought ſufficient for my ſuſpicion, and that I had one thing more to confirm me; which was, that my Lord Gallway writ me word, that the King had writ to him, that he had reſolved to ſend his Lordſhip into Ireland, and that he had accepted of it. He owned, that my Lord Gallway writ the ſame to him. I think his great buſineſs was to load me with ſtrong aſſurances of his friendſhip (which I am perſuaded of, if it does not interfere with his deſigns) though I am apt to believe, from words that he let fall, that he has ſtill thought of Ireland. We talked of other things in general; and, in particular, I mentioned your affair; and he laboured mightily to convince me, that my Lord Sunderland had no hand in the doing of it; and ſaid, that my Lord Sunderland came to him, and was the moſt ſurpriſed in the world at its being done in this manner; and that my Lord Sunderland would have had the King ſend for your Lordſhip, and have told you, that, if you could have propoſed a ſcheme to carry on his buſineſs, and preſerve yourſelf, he would come into it; and upon this, it was ſuppoſed you would have quitted.

I am very glad, for your ſake (ſince ſo fatal a ſtroke was to be) that it was done in the manner it was.

I find my Lord Shrewſbury goes, ſome time this month, to Althorp, and told me there was always a good correſpondence there between them, which he ſhould continue, and not meddle with

other people. And ſaid, he believed that Lord * would never join with the Tory party; for he was ſure his language was, at this very time, otherwiſe; and he thought it was now high time to change his note, if he had any ſuch thoughts. My Lord Shrewſbury was to go to-day for London; and he told me, juſt as we parted, that he would be in Hampſhire again in a week or ten days. I muſt beg pardon for this long letter; but, it being in obedience to your commands, I hope you will pardon me, and commit this to the flames when you have read it; and be aſſured I am, without reſerve, and with great truth and reſpect,

WILLIAM III. 1700.

Moſt faithfully yours,

Sept. 1700. BOLTON.

To Lord Somers.

P. S. I cannot help troubling your Lordſhip with a thought. It looks as if Lord Sunderland was not ſo much diſſatisfied with your being diſplaced, as he repreſented himſelf in the converſation with the Duke of Shrewſbury ſome time before the King was to leave England. His complaint was, I find, that the method of doing it was not his; and that he thought it ſtrange (as all the world did) to diſplace you, and not have ſomebody ready to put in; and was in hopes of finding a way to make your Lordſhip reſign; which, he is in the right, muſt have been better for the King's affairs, as they deſigned it, but infinitely to your prejudice. So that I think my Lord Shrewſbury has ſhewed himſelf; and his juſtification of my Lord Sunderland, in this affair, rather turned it harder upon him with me.

I tell your Lordſhip this out of the unalterable friendſhip and reſpect I have for you, that, in whatever commerce or acting there may be with your Lordſhip and my Lord Shrewſbury, you may know better what foot to act upon. I beg the continuance of your friend-

* Lord Sunderland.

ſhip;

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ſhip; and you may depend on all the faithful ſervices that your humble ſervant is capable of.

B.

My Lord Shrewſbury ſays, he believes the king undetermined either as to his meaſures in his miniſtry, or as to a new Parliament. It will not be reſolved on until the King's return, which I find is to be about the 15th of the next month; and the Parliament is to be prorogued to the 17th. But theſe things you will know of a certainty: and as for my own part, I will be watchful in the corporations where I have any thing to do.

Duke of Shrewſbury to Lord Somers.

Rome, 17th June, 1701.

WHEN firſt I received the news of the proceedings againſt your Lordſhip, and the reſt of the Lords, I had writ a letter to you, and to my Lord Hallifax, upon that ſubject. But reflecting, before they were ſent, what had happened, ſome time before, upon my Lord Bellamont's letters, I thought it more adviſable to burn mine than to ſend them; and not daring, at this diſtance, to write all I wiſhed to ſay, I choſe rather to be ſilent for a time; being then in expectation it would not be long before I ſhould wait upon you in England. But this laſt relapſe, with the aſſiſtance of very ill weather, and not a little ſpleen, has proved ſo obſtinate, that I have not been able to get the better of it, with the help of a vaſt quantity of vitriol, which I have taken theſe laſt eight days, in hopes to patch me up for a journey; in ſo much that I am feveriſh, with ſeveral other bad ſymptoms, and am forced to quit this remedy. This ſtate of my health making it very doubtful, when I ſhall return to England, I can no longer omit aſſuring your Lordſhip of my moſt ſincere concern for what has happened. The above

above-mentioned caution hinders me from all I have a mind to ſay; only I conclude, for good reaſons, that no trial now, or at any other time, will follow upon the charge againſt you. Though this, I know, is a mortification to you, yet you may comfort yourſelf with the thought, that in a little time mankind will come to itſelf, and learn truth and juſtice; but, however, I cannot help referring to my old opinion, which is now ſupported with more weight than I ever expected; and wonder that a man can be found in England, who has bread, that will be concerned in public buſineſs. WILLIAM III. 1701.

Had I a ſon, I would ſooner breed him a cobler, than a courtier; and a hangman, than a ſtateſman.

I have conſtant relations from Mr. Yard, of matters of fact; but, at this diſtance, thoſe accounts cannot be ſo exact or particular, as to give a true light how affairs ſtand. If I could be ſerviceable to your Lordſhip, Lord Hallifax, and even my Lord Orford, by writing to any friends, or by coming myſelf, if you think that uſeful to you, there is nothing in my power, I ſhould not be ready to do, that might ſhew how ſincerely I am concerned for you, how much I value your friendſhip, and with what eſteem and truth I will ever remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

SHREWSBURY.

WILLIAM III. 1701.

Princeſs Sophia to Mr. Stepney *.

[Tranſcribed from the original, in Lord Somers's Hand.]

MONSIEUR,

J'AI lu avec bien du plaiſir le livre & voſtre lettre. Je voudrois que les raiſonnemens du premier fuſſent auſſy vraiſemblables, comme l'autre eſt obligeante pour moi, & que je pourrois vivre aſſez long temps, pour avoir lieu de reconnoitre par des ſervices, l'affection que vous me temoignez, ſans deroger un moment de vos années, dont vous me parroiſſez vouloir eſtre trop liberal: La complaiſance ne pourroit aller plus loin, et vous ne pourriez rien dire de plus obligeant pour moi, dont je vous dois une reconnoiſſance infinie; auſſy bien que de tout ce que vous m'ecrivez.

Si j'etois trente années plus jeune, j'aurois aſſez bonne opinion de mon ſang & de ma religion, pour croire, qu'on penſeroit à moy en Angleterre. Mais comme il y a peu d'apparence, que je ſurvive à deux perſonnes †, beaucoup plus jeunes, quoique plus maladives que moi, il eſt a craindre, qu'apres ma mort, on regardera mes fils comme des eſtrangers, & dont l'ainé eſt bien plus accoutumé à trencher en ſouverain que le pauvre prince de Galles, qui eſt trop jeune pour profiter de l'exemple du Roy de France, et qui ſeroit apparemment ſi aiſé de recouvrir ce que le Roy ſon pere a inconſiderément perdu, qu'on feroit avec luy tout ce que l'on voudroit. Mais la Prevention fait tout en Angleterre; et pour me tenir à ce que vous en dites, ſans m'embarquer á raiſonner par lettres, je vous dirai que ma fille m'a entrainée icy ‡, ou elle a pris les eaux 3 ſemaines, et que

* Though this letter has no date, the contents prove that it was written in the ſummer of 1701. † The King and princeſs Anne. ‡ Pyrmont.

nous

nous partirons lundi pour nous rendre par Bruſſelles en Hollande, ou nous aurons l'honneur de voir le Roy.

Je ne ſuis pas ſi philoſophe, ou ſi etourdie, comme vous pouvez croire, que je n'aime entendre parler d'une couronne, et que je ne faſſe reflection ſur ce jugement ſolide que vous faites ſur ce ſuject. Il me ſemble, qu'en Angleterre, il y a tant de Factions, qu'on ne puiſſe eſtre aſſurée de rien. Cela n'empeche pas, que je ne dois eſtre fort obligée a Ceux qui teſmoignent de l'affection pour moi et pour mes Deſcendans, dont je vous dois en particulier tenir conte toute ma vie; et je trouve qu'il y a beaucoup de plaiſir d'eſtre redevable à une perſonne de voſtre merite, à qui on aime de l'eſtre.

SOPHIE ELECTRICE.

A Monſieur Monſieur Stepney,
à Londres.

King William to Lord Sunderland.*

Loo, September the 1ſt, 1701.—Received the 10th.

WE are extremely concerned not to have heard from you, and it is earneſtly deſired you would inform us, what condition things are in, what people ſay, and that you would give your advice upon it. It is very much unreſolved what meaſures to take. He fears †, if he ſhould quit thoſe he now employs, and that the others ſhould not be able to ſerve him, that he ſhall then have no reſource. This inclines him to try again, what the preſent miniſters and their party will do; with a reſolution to change upon the

* King William was at this time in the hands of the Tories. The correſpondence that now follows in 1701, between him, Robert Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Somers, relates to a change in the miniſtry, in favour of the Whigs.

† The king.

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first occaſion they ſhall give. He is undetermined, whether he ſhould call a new Parliament; the Tories giving him great hopes, and making him great promiſes. He is adviſed to offer an act of grace at the meeting of the Parliament, as a means of reconciling matters. Upon the whole, he earneſtly deſires you will give your opinion, and as ſoon as poſſible.

Anſwer by Lord Sunderland.

September the 11th, 1701.

EVERY thing here is much as when you left England; only the miniſtry grows more hated every day, and more expoſed. But ſince you deſire to know the thoughts of people, you ſhall; though what is ſaid or writ of this kind is ſeldom kept ſecret, which is ſo unpleaſant, that if any word of this paper ſhould be truſted to any perſon whatſoever, except —— and —— there is for ever an end of this and all the like commerce. It is ſaid, the King † is perſuaded ſtill to try the ſame party, and the ſame miniſters; becauſe, if he changes and fails, there will be no reſource; which is as much as to ſay, continue in the hands of your enemies, for if they do not ſave you, you may return to your friends, who will; which is a ſort of reaſon which ought not to be anſwered, but hiſſed. But the argument may be carried further; as that if the King employs the Whigs, and they cannot or will not help him, he may always be welcome to the others, whenever he will alter the Lieutenancy of London, break the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and that party in the Houſe of Lords who laſt ſeſſion declared themſelves againſt France; and, in ſhort, give up the whole power to them.

† Here and in many other places in the original was left a blank, by which it is plain, was meant the King; and it has been filled up accordingly.

Another dangerous opinion the King is led into by ſlams and lies, that, if thoſe he now depends on do not act as they promiſe, he can try new meaſures in the middle of a ſeſſion, which is impoſſible; and that he muſt know, if he pleaſes to reflect. He will be wheedled, and complimented, and cheated, and at the latter end ruined. Can he forget how the Tories agreed to the ten thouſand men, and the addreſs to enter into alliances with the emperor? Was it not becauſe it would have been done without them, and that they were frighted out of their wits, and to oblige him to thank them at laſt, that they might go into the country with ſafety? Are not their promiſes on the ſame account, and becauſe they dread a new Parliament? Can he forget the pains that were taken after the King of Spain's death, to perſuade the world, that all was well, and nothing would be ſo fatal as a war? What a fine ſpeech was made for him at the opening of the Parliament; four months after the King of Spain died, and a fortnight after the French were actually poſſeſſed of Flanders? Or that, during the ſeſſions, the miniſters told him every day, they nor their party never would come into a war, of which mind they are ſo much now, that yet they continue to ſay it will undo us? And if they are any ways forced into it, it will be with a deſign of raiſing money, which ſhall both be inſufficient, and laid ſo as to be the moſt uneaſy to the people that is poſſible. But to what purpoſe is it, ſo much as to think of any thing of this kind, when, after a thirteen years experience, the King will not judge right of things he knows, but will be undone infallibly by believing himſelf more cunning than a whole party, by whom he is beſet, and who wheedles him every day; and of which, in his whole reign, he never yet could gain any one man? The King ought to conſider, that, moſt luckily for him, the whole moderate

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derate church party, who are not Jacobites, are joined with the Whigs; but he will be deceived, if he reckons they will help to eſtabliſh this miniſtry, which they think would ruin England, and hang them.

Some would have the King to offer an act of indemnity, at the firſt meeting of the Parliament, whoever are miniſters; and it may do well, though neither party will like it. For the Tories will not be ſatisfied without ruining my Lord Somers, nor the Whigs without undoing the miniſters; in which the latter think they have the whole nation on their ſide. But at laſt, what can the King do? He muſt certainly do what may determine him to take his meaſures. For example; let him come into England as ſoon as he can, and immediately ſend for my Lord Somers. He is the life, the ſoul, and the ſpirit of his party, and can anſwer for it; not like the preſent miniſters, who have no credit with theirs, any further than they can perſuade the King to be undone. When his majeſty ſpeaks to my Lord Somers, he ought to do it openly and freely; and aſk him plainly, what he and his friends can do, and will do, and what they expect, and the methods they would propoſe. By this the King will come to make a judgment of his affairs; and he may be ſure, that my Lord Somers will deſire nothing for himſelf, or any of the impeached Lords, but will take as much care not to perplex the King's buſineſs, as can be deſired; and if he can do nothing his majeſty ſhall like, he will remain ſtill zealous and affectionate to his perſon and government.

This is thought to be the beſt way the King can take; and perhaps the only means of being able to reſolve with reaſon. It ſhould be conſidered, that by the preſent miniſtry, the Tories have infinitely

infinitely loſt their credit, and the others have in proportion gained. It is a melancholy thing, that the King, who has more underſtanding than any body who comes near him, is impoſed on by mountebanks, or by ſuch as, he himſelf knows, hate both his perſon and his government!

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From Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.

Sept. 15.

THE incloſed Papers * ſhould have been delivered to you by a friend; but the perſon who was to have carried them to him, being out of town, it was thought better to ſend them to you directly.

Among all the pamphlets which are come out, there ought to have been one, to have particularly explained the proceedings of the preſent miniſtry, which begun at the King's return laſt year from Holland. The breaking the laſt Parliament; the late meeting of this; the care which was taken by them and their friends upon the death of the King of Spain to perſuade the world that all was well, and that a war would undo us; how, by this management, the French poſſeſſed themſelves of Flanders, before the meeting of the Parliament; which was thought of ſo little importance to England, as not to be worth mentioning in the King's ſpeech; all which diſheartened ſo much our allies abroad, that the King of Portugal, deſpairing, made a treaty with France; and many Princes beſides, thought it beſt to be neuter. The late meeting of the Parliament made it impracticable for England to be of any uſe abroad this year,

* The two preceding Letters.

either

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either by sea or land, there not being time to conclude treaties with the Emperor and other Princes, without which war could not be declared.

Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland.

Sept. 20.

THE person, who has had the honour to receive the packet, desires to put the writer in mind, that, upon their last conversation, it was agreed, there should be a personal friendship between them, independent on all public matters. He takes things to stand upon that foot; and as he has always piqued himself on acting the part of a friend very strictly, where he has made the profession, so he doubts not but this will be reciprocal. Freedom must be the necessary consequence, and he expects to be freely reproved when he is wrong at any time, as well as plainly instructed; making, once for all, this express declaration, that he will never be concerned, more or less, in any thing relating to the public, but in concurrence with, and under the direction of, the person who sent the packet.

He is sorry to read the paper which came from beyond sea, though he did not hope for much, considering how things had passed this summer, both here and abroad.

The answer he thinks to be written with all the good sense and good meaning possible. He likes every word in it, but what relates to himself; and, to put in practice the freedom he thinks so necessary, that is wrong throughout. What is said of him does not belong to him, nor can he perform that which seems to be expected from him. The King and the sender of the packet both know he never could, nor would, be a leader; and having declared under whom he has listed himself, he hopes the part assigned him will be such, as may be practicable

practicable by one of his natural temper, and in his preſent circumſtances. He knows the King's humour well enough to be ſenſible how little any thing ſaid to him will ſignify, if it be but poſſible for him to think the perſon who ſpeaks may have ſomewhat of his own intereſt in view; and he appeals, whether in the condition he is now taken to ſtand, any thing material can be ſaid, upon which ſuch a conſtruction may not be put? WILLIAM III. 1701.

He does not ſay this to decline waiting on his Majeſty if it be thought neceſſary; and, in that caſe, will certainly ſpeak his opinion clearly. But if that be the meaſure to be taken, he then depends upon receiving another letter, wherein the particulars of what is to be ſaid be ſomewhat explained; he not only deſiring, but inſiſting upon it, that he may be certain he ſays nothing at ſuch a conference, without the full concurrence of the perſon by whoſe meaſures he has reſolved to act.

He ſays, that, under the King's preſent reſolution, there is but one man living can determine him to take vigorous meaſures, and conſidering who are about him, the ſame perſon only can keep him ſteady. This is as certain as any thing in nature; ſo that, whatſoever is attempted, unleſs that perſon does actually take a part, will infallibly prove inſignificant. This he does not ſay to decline any thing of which he is capable; but upon the deliberate weighing of the whole matter, and not without ſome regard to the particular intereſt of the perſon himſelf, for which he will always be ſincerely concerned.

If the preſent Parliament be to continue, he thinks that perſon would be in the wrong to appear; but he is of a quite different ſentiment, if it ſhould be reſolved to have another. He knows there is a very general good diſpoſition in the Whigs to unite in that perſon, which he ſays would have appeared in a very evident manner before this time, if he himſelf had not been tied up ſo very ſtrictly, as he was, from letting the good deſigns of that perſon be more

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underſtood. He leaves it to that perſon to judge, whether this conduct be perfectly right; becauſe at the ſame time the thing is made a myſtery to friends, who ought not to be ignorant, the enemies do poſitively take it for granted, and intend as maliciouſly to him, as is poſſible. It is fit the perſon ſhould be informed of this matter of fact, which may be depended upon to be certainly true.

This being the caſe, if another Parliament come to be reſolved upon, why ſhould not that perſon come to town as others do, ſince the ſame conſtruction will certainly be made in the one caſe as in the other? This matter is entirely ſubmitted to the perſon's own judgment; but he aſks leave to ſay, that, without this, in the preſent juncture, nothing can be brought to paſs effectually for the good of England. He ſays, it is certainly true, which was ſaid in the anſwer, that nothing would be aſked for any of the Whigs, as alſo what was promiſed for him, as to his zeal and affection, for which he returns humble thanks. By the letter and anſwer, he thinks the news was come to neither of the parties, of the two great incidents; that of the edict about the trade of England, and that of the death of King James, and the acknowledging the Prince of Wales. He thinks thoſe things cannot but have conſiderable effects both with the King and with others here. The aſſociation is in a manner at an end. The renewing that, or the carrying it yet further, may perhaps be practicable. Poſſibly this may be the right occaſion to be taken for making thoſe things general, which have moved ſo ſluggiſhly hitherto. This time ſeems perfectly right, if the thing could ſucceed.

Such a paper as is mentioned is, above all others, wanting; if any ways could be found to procure it. A thing of that nature has been promiſed.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.

Oct. 1.

THE friendſhip mentioned is extremely valued, and looked upon to be for ever eſtabliſhed. Coming to town is allowed to be unneceſſary, unleſs there is a new parliament; and if there is one, no help will be wanting. For the King will certainly engage thoroughly in the true intereſt of England; which being all that is deſired by that perſon, his reſolutions continue the ſame, of not meddling, or doing any thing that can look like it. If the King, when he ſpeaks freely, as it is ſuppoſed he will, be plainly ſhewed what is fit, arguments, drawn from what any body elſe thinks, will be of little uſe; and the leſs ſo, becauſe he will not doubt of the concurrence. The great care ought to be, not to inſiſt on things that are not abſolutely neceſſary, but to make him find as much eaſe as may be; for, if the main be agreed to, all the reſt will ſoon follow. And if it ſhould not be at firſt, if there is a good and practicable foundation laid, the firſt accident makes it ſure.

The renewing the aſſociation, and carrying it further, is neceſſary, and will have abundance of good conſequences; and perhaps might beſt be begun in the Houſe of Lords; as likewiſe the engaging againſt France, and finding fault with the miniſtry; but it is thought nothing will be well done without ſuch a paper as has been before wiſhed for.

Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland.

Oct. 3.

THE great point is a new Parliament, or not. One ſort of men ſay, that is determined in the negative. If ſo, there is little room for deliberation.

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If that point be not reſolved, as the paper ſeems to admit, it is alſo thereby admitted, that all the help will be wanting to fix ſuch a reſolution. It is only *one* man's reaſons and credit can do it, and he muſt be left to take his own methods to bring it about.

Upon ſuppoſition that the King will talk freely with a certain perſon, he very earneſtly renews his requeſt, that he may be inſtructed what arguments will be moſt proper and likely to be moſt effectual; and what is to be offered as a practicable foundation. It is certainly right, that the King ſhould find as much eaſe as can be; and that nothing but what is abſolutely neceſſary ſhould be inſiſted upon, and other things left to accidents; but it is depended upon, that this ſhould be explained, otherwiſe the perſon is wholly deprived of the only aſſiſtance he values for his conduct.

It is not neceſſary to come to a reſolution preſently, as to things which are thought fitteſt to be attempted in the Houſe of Lords firſt.

The paper * deſired would certainly have a good effect. It was promiſed, and it is believed to be ready printed. But for ſome reaſons which the writer conceals, it has not yet appeared; and there is a doubt when it will.

The King to Lord Somers.

A Loo, ce Oct. 10, 1701.

J'AY chargé Mr. Gallway de vous parler de ma part, avec beaucoup de franchiſe. J'eſpere que vous adjouteréz une entiere creance a ce qu'il vous dira; et que vous voudrez bien en uſer avec la meſme franchiſe, ſans aucune reſerve, et eſtre perſuadè de la continuation de mon amitié.

WILLIAM R.

* It is thought a pamphlet called *Anguis in Herba*, publiſhed among the tracts at that time, is the paper here alluded to.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.

Oct. 21.

AN anſwer is come to that letter, of which an account was given. The King is reſolved to diſcourſe fully and plainly, with all the good inclinations poſſible, and knows that the two friends are of a mind in every particular.

Heads of Lord Somers's arguments to induce the King to call a new Parliament.

THE preſent ferment and diſpoſition of the nation.

1ſt, Art of governing in England, is watching and uſing ſuch opportunities.

2d. Theſe opportunities do not laſt.

3d. Neglect of making uſe of them always muſt turn to diſadvantage;

1. By diſobliging the zealous;
2. Encouraging the ill-meaning;
3. Creating the jealouſies of the King and his meaſures.

4th. The like opportunities not to be had again, there being no like occaſion in view.

5th. Laſt year's argument, to begin a war with a new Parliament ſtronger now; and why ſhould it not have the ſame effect?

6th. It may laſt for three years, upon a good choice; in which time, the greateſt difficulties may be over: and the funds will be ſo near diſengaged, as to give an encouraging proſpect.

7th. Reaſon to depend on a good Parliament, when ſo good an inclination in the people.——Biſhops deſire it.——We may have their help.——Court and country not the preſent queſtion.

8th. No

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8th. No hazard; for let the majority fall as it will, the preſent temper will force them to do what the King will deſire.

9th. But the majority will be ſure, if it be conſidered upon what foot it was underſtood the laſt Parliament was choſen; and yet how ſmall a majority, and how obtained.

Preſent Parliament.

1ſt. Their inclination has appeared againſt a war to demonſtration; and though they ſay now it is unavoidable, their opinion is againſt it.

2d. Great number engaged for the Prince of Wales.——Their diſcourſes, &c.

3d. Delays both as to the meeting of the Parliament, and to the perfecting the ſupplies; ſo as no leſs than a miracle, all was not loſt.

4th. Unneceſſarily running on ſuch a ſupply, as makes it more difficult to go on with a war.

5th. The King to conſider how far he and Europe are in their hands, and can depend on their promiſes.

6th. Their inclination being manifeſtly againſt the King, if they comply, it is but the effect of fear, and that will continue on a new choice; and be more, as the choice is better.

7th. If they are ſincerely for a war, and in the King's intereſt, they will act the ſame part in another Parliament.

8th. They have no reaſon to reſent the diſſolution, no more than the other party had the laſt year.

9th. The Whigs will look upon themſelves as utterly abandoned, when neither the King's viſible intereſt, nor the manifeſt ſenſe of the nation, will induce him to give them quarter, and will be only thinking of meaſures to procure ſafety.

10th. Friends abroad will deſpair.

11th. More likely to diſpoſe people towards a union on the foot of a new Parliament.

12th. Whigs

12th. Whigs leave him entirely to his own ſcheme on the plan of a new Parliament.

13th. But to ſet himſelf and his people at eaſe, he muſt truſt thoſe whom the body of the people do not diſtruſt.

Obj. They, *i. e.* the Tories, promiſe,

1ſt. To provide for the war;

2d. Not to diſturb or revive differences.

They can give no ſecurity, but their bare promiſe.——To truſt them, is to put the fate of Europe in their hands.——Neither their will, nor their power to be depended on.——Not their will, if it can be conſidered, how their party is compoſed; for, without the profeſſed Jacobites, they are nothing ——Will the King truſt to a majority made up of Jacobites, to make effectual proviſions againſt France and the Prince of Wales?——Will he believe the Tories will quit *them*, and ſhew themſelves to be no conſiderable party; or will he depend upon the affection of the Whigs to aſſiſt them to eſtabliſh a miniſtry which has no mercy nor juſtice?——Will the King go upon an uncertainty, when he need not? It is in the power of one ſide to interrupt as well as the other.——Muſt expect to comply throughout with them *, for they diſtruſt him.——Their power not to be depended on.——That can no more be depended on now than laſt year; when, as they pretended, they could not govern their own party as to the violences.——It is in the power of every man, and who can undertake for that?——Not the ſame caſe in another Parliament, which may diſavow the unjuſt and violent proceedings, which this cannot.——Dangerous to venture the diſpute upon a point of privilege, when a party is liſted and engaged to defend what they have done.——Will never take up this but late.——Will never take up a quarrel, but upon a popular point; nor poſſible to hinder, but that ſuch an opportunity they may give themſelves.—

* The Tories.

Great

WILLIAM III. 1701.

Great hazard then of ill elections. For the choice always ſo, when a Parliament is diſſolved on a popular point.——Lords cannot recede without utter ruin of the conſtitution.

Obj. Firſt, Shortneſs of time: Second, King's approbation.

Anſw. to the 1ſt. Cannot have this Parliament under three weeks, and may have the other in ſix †.——Neither can do more than vote before Chriſtmas.——New one will have done more before February is over.——Friends abroad more ſatisfied with a new Parliament, than ſuch a little time gained.

As to the 2d. Have had nothing elſe to depend upon this ſummer; people ſee through it.——Ja. H.'s * addreſs.——The great alteration, which has happened by the declaration of the Prince of Wales, and addreſſes thereupon.

† This fixes, within a very few days, the date of this paper. The old Parliament was diſſolved on the 11th of November (the King having landed from Holland on the 4th of that month) and the new one met on the 31ſt of December.

* I ſuppoſe *Jack Howe*, a noted leader in the Houſe of Commons.

Lord Sunderland's advice to Lord Somers *.

HE deſires Lord Gallway ſhould ſay publicly, that he was to deſire him and Lord Sunderland to come to the King; but he would not change his mind. He deſired others to make the ſcheme for the miniſtry, and conduct of the Parliament without him, and propoſe it to the King.

What he thinks is, the laſt Parliament was ſuperior for the King and the Whigs, as appears by the carrying the words of the *peace of Europe* †; and by the majority Lord Somers had the two firſt times he was attacked. The next Parliament will be the ſame. The King and the Whigs will have the majority if the King will. It is probable that the elections will be good, and that the Whigs will be conſiderably the ſtronger; yet nothing is to be neglected to arrive at it. The King being engaged, it is neceſſary that he follows the advice of the Whigs, and fortifies them with all his power, as far as common juſtice and the law will allow.

There is nothing more dangerous, than to let either party think the King is wavering; but it is better the Whigs ſhould fear, than that the Tories ſhould hope; becauſe it makes them bolder and more diligent to hurt. This has been the cauſe of the greateſt part of the difficulties he has found during his reign. The encouragement he gives them, even in his cloſet, is prejudicial, and becomes preſently public.

* The contents ſupply the want of a date. The paper was written ſoon after the diſſolution of the Parliament in November, while the elections for a new one were going on.

† In an addreſs, carried in the Houſe of Commons, by a majority of 181 to 160, they aſſured his Majeſty, "That they would ſupport his government, and take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe."

WILLIAM III. 1701.

By the ſame reaſon the King ought never to endeavour to gain any Tory. He is a judge, if he has ever ſucceeded in thirteen years. He would do well to propoſe nothing of this to my Lord Ranelagh, Coningſby, or Godolphin; at the ſame time he ought not to ſhut the door againſt the Tories, but to recommend thoſe who will ſerve well, after the ſervice done. The King will alſo do well to make uſe of thoſe, who are very capable of employments, provided they be not thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Parliament againſt him.

He would alſo do well to tell the Tories openly, that he has called a new Parliament, by reaſon of the ill-treatment he had from them during the laſt ſeſſion. He may mention particulars which are too long to be inſerted here.

There is nothing more neceſſary than to obſerve a good method during the holding of a Parliament, and to foreſee events, ſo as not to be ſurprized, and to be in a condition to remedy them. The King and Lord Somers know the order which was obſerved in 1696, which had good ſucceſs; the ſame method is to be purſued, and will ſucceed; many depend immediately on the King; an hint ought to be given him, that he may ſpeak to them, and let them know his intentions, and receive no excuſe.

The Tories are better ſpeakers than the Whigs in the Houſe of Commons; therefore, in the beginning, the Whigs ought to have ſome remarkable advantage, which may give them that ſuperiority, which may help them to conduct the affairs during the reſt of the ſeſſion. The nomination of a ſpeaker, though it be very important, will not be ſufficient*.

* The Whigs propoſed Sir T. Lyttleton for ſpeaker, but Mr. Harley, whom the Tories ſupported, was choſen on a diviſion, 216 againſt 212.

The judgment of the Houſe of Lords in favour of the three Lords impeached, gives them an occaſion to renew the difference between the two houſes; and an occaſion ſo favourable, that, if it be not prevented at the beginning, although the Whigs have the majority, the Tories will recover it in a fortnight. An act of grace puts an end to this in an inſtant.

There being an appearance of ſuch a diviſion between the two houſes in ſuch a juncture, it not only becomes the King, but it is in ſome meaſure his duty to ſtop the conſequences; nothing being more indecent than to let his ſubjects come to extremities, when he can hinder it. It is certain he ought to prevent theſe diviſions and animoſities. If another way be found more ſure, more ready, and more expedient than an act of grace, it ought to be followed.

If this be thought proper, this act ought to be ſent to the Houſe of Lords, after the Speaker is choſen in the Houſe of Commons. It ought to be full, and extended as far as poſſible, excepting thoſe who have miſemployed the King's money, and thoſe who have ſerved, and been with King James ſince the abjuration; taking care, if they who may be accuſed to ſerve King James in England be not excluded, that it ought to be underſtood, that the act of grace is not to ſhelter them, but to put an end to the differences between the two houſes.

As ſoon as the act of grace is paſſed, an abjuration ought to be propoſed of the Prince of Wales. This ought to commence in the Houſe of Commons, if it be diſpoſed.

As ſoon as the Speaker is named, endeavour ſhould be made to thank the King for his ſpeech, and his diſſolving the laſt.

It would be well for the King to give order to two of the cabinet to prepare the ſpeech, as the Duke of Devonſhire and Secretary Vernon, and bid them conſult in private Lord Somers, rather than to bring to the cabinet a ſpeech already made.

WILLIAM III. 1701.

This ſpeech ought to give an account of the reaſons of diſſolving the laſt Parliament, which are two; the addreſſes, as they are mentioned in the proclamation; but, above all, on account of the diviſion of the two houſes at the end of the laſt ſeſſion, and to exhort them not to continue in ſuch diviſions; and the King will conſider of ways to ſtop them. It would be alſo proper to ſpeak, in paſſing, of the dangerous conſequences to have a Parliament meet laſt year four months after the death of the King of Spain, which, added to the inevitable delays occaſioned by the differences between the two houſes, rendered the laſt ſeſſion uſeleſs to the public good; therefore the King recommends to this Parliament, to diſpatch the public affairs, and to think of nothing elſe, till they have entirely concluded. He ought alſo to recommend the payment of the debts, to the end to aſcertain and re-eſtabliſh credit. To conſider alſo what is proper to be ſaid for maintaining the Proteſtant religion, as well at home as abroad.

As to places *, he is of opinion, the King ſhould make the Duke of Somerſet, Chamberlain; Lord Carliſle, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; the place of Secretary Hodges, to Lord Wharton; or at leaſt to take the place from him, and to reſerve it to be filled after.

The Preſident of the Council ſhould not be in the commiſſion of the Admiralty; but would have my Lord Jerſey, Firſt Commiſſioner.

* In the original, the names were only marked in initials; they are filled up according to the beſt conjectures of the Editor. It muſt be owned, this was a very imperfect outline of an adminiſtration, meant to be adequate to ſo great a criſis. It is to be obſerved, however, that this arrangement recommended by Lord Sunderland was not completely adopted. Lord Carliſle, indeed, was made Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, in the room of Lord Godolphin; but it was Lord Mancheſter, and not Lord Wharton who ſucceeded Sir Charles Hedges as Secretary. The Duke of Somerſet was not made Chamberlain, but Lord Preſident, in the room of Lord Pembroke, who became Lord High Admiral. See the *London Gazettes* of the time. The King's death ſome time after, put an end to theſe beginnings of a Whig adminiſtration; Queen Anne having immediately, on her acceſſion, brought the Tories again into power.

Mr.

WILLIAM III. 1701.

Mr. Smith, Commiſſioner of the Treaſury in the place of Mr. Hill, who may have a prebend or deanry.

None to be of the Cabinet Council, but who have, in ſome ſort, a right to enter there by their employment.

Archbiſhop, Lord Keeper, Lord Preſident, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Two Secretaries of State; the Lieutenant of Ireland muſt be there, when he is in England. If the King would have more, it ought to be the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and the Maſter of the Ordnance. If theſe two are excluded, no one can take it ill, if he be not admitted. They may be ſummoned, when any thing relating to their charge is debated. It would be much for the King's ſervice, if he brought his affairs to be debated at that Council.

He thinks all the King's good ſervants ſhould be made to come up immediately; to the end, to be at the opening of the Parliament. Among others Mr. Methwyn, and Major General Earl, though they be neceſſary in Ireland.

He thinks the government there ought to be left in the beſt hands it could, till the end of the ſeſſion; and then to ſend ſuch a governor as may continue.

There ought to be a ſtronger army there, of ten or twelve thouſand. To conſider if this ought not to be ſpoken of to the Parliament. He thinks a quota ought to be agreed upon, in making the treaty with the Emperor.

WILLIAM III. 1701.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Gallway.

THIRTY-THREE does earneſtly deſire 30, 27, and all his friends, not to think of him, but to act as if he was not in the world. If he were worth having, I would ſay there is no way but to forget him, which was deſired ſo often, as you know at the beginning. But after all the clutter has been made, if he ſhould juſt now engage in buſineſs, it would be pretending to miracles which he is very unfit for. 27 has convinced 33, that what was thought of being done by 18 cannot; ſo that it muſt fall, as being vain. Every letter that 33 receives, to perſuade him, that he is neceſſary, contributes to the fixing him here; for he is no way capable of anſwering thoſe expectations of furthering what is fit, and hindering what is not. If there had been leſs buſtle made about him, as was earneſtly deſired, he would have been ready to have complied by this time; but while he is to be ſtared upon, he cannot engage. 12 has a plain way to follow, and cannot fail if he pleaſes; and yet he will not do thoſe things which his own judgment leads him to, and which Lord Gallway ſaid he had reſolved. When 12 has put his affairs into ſome order, 33 may be perhaps of ſome uſe; and as ſoon as that is, he will deſire to be ſent for as much as he now deſires to be forgot. 33 can ſay nothing, but what he did to 30; only that he thinks no more of 37, nor of 18; yielding to thoſe who are beſt judges.

Lord Somers, 27. *Lord Sunderland*, 33. *Houſe of Lords*, 18. *King*, 12. *Lord Gallway*, 30. *Earl of Godolphin*, 37.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers.

December 27th.

YOUR friend is convinced that what was deſigned cannot be done in the Houſe of Lords, and therefore it may be no more thought of. He is very ſorry to be preſſed to what he cannot do; for he is very incapable of anſwering people's expectations, and does earneſtly deſire, that you and your friends may not think of him. For nothing, but being let alone for ſome time, can make it poſſible for him to be perſuaded to ſtir.

Lord Haverſham * *to Lord Somers.*

My Lord,

AFTER ſo long an acquaintance, I take this to be the civileſt way of parting. I am very ſorry to ſee, what I hoped I never ſhould ſee, but muſt ſhut my eyes if I will not. The intereſt of my country, as it ever has, ſo it always ſhall govern me, without regard to this or that man. I think this due to myſelf, and to your Lordſhip, to be acquainted with it, from

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

February 19th, 1703. HAVERSHAM.

Lord Somers to Lord Haverſham.

My Lord,

I AM uneaſy till I can let your Lordſhip know, ſome way or other, the effect of what I ſaid yeſterday. As ſoon as I could get an opportunity of ſpeaking, after you expreſſed yourſelf diſſatisfied, I ſaid you were a perſon for whom I always had a great eſteem and honour, and from whom I had received ſuch obligations, even in that houſe, as I never would forget, and would not fail to return whenever it lay in my power; that therefore it was not poſſible for

* His name was Thompſon; he had taken a ſtrong part with Lord Somers on his impeachment, and incurred the reſentment of the Houſe of Commons by it. Not being ſatisfied with the behaviour of the Whigs towards him afterwards, he fell into other meaſures, and though a diſſenter, ended his political career, by voting for Dr. Sacheverel. The offence he took at ſome words of Lord Somers, was probably in one of the debates, occaſioned by the inquiry into the Scots plot. Vide the Journals 1703-4. Burnet.

me to mean any thing, that ought to give you juſt offence. This was the ſubſtance of what I ſaid; the perſon who prevailed upon you to go out of the houſe, was a witneſs of the impatience which I ſhewed, to explain this matter; and with his uſual candour, endeavoured, as I believe, to prevent your hearing it. I could not forbear ſaying this, that your Lordſhip may be aſſured, though I have of late not had the honour of converſing with you ſo much as formerly, yet I retain the ſame lively ſenſe of your generous behaviour at the time of the impeachments, as if it paſſed but yeſterday; and conſequently can never, willingly, ſay or do any thing which ought to diſpleaſe you, but retain a firm reſolution of being, as far as you will pleaſe to allow me, for ever,

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My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

SOMERS.

Duke of Argyle to Lord Somers.

Edinburgh, 1706.

I PRESUME your Lordſhip had an account of what paſſed in Parliament laſt Friday. The loſing of that vote was indeed very ſurpriſing to me, but much the more ſo, upon account of its being loſt by gentlemen's voting againſt us who are in her Majeſty's ſervice, which is intolerable; and if ſuch perſons are not turned out of their employments, it will not only encourage indifferent people to take liberties they otherwiſe would not do, but will make thoſe who are firm, grow negligent; for it is certainly the height of diſcouragement to good men, to ſee bad go unpuniſhed. My Lord, I am preaching this doctrine here every day; but there is too little firmneſs among us to make it reliſh. My Lord Commiſſioner does

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indeed ſay, he will be for turning them out after the Parliament. Therefore, my Lord, I would, with great ſubmiſſion, propoſe, that commiſſions might be granted to others in their places, which may lie in my Lord Commiſſioner's hands till after the Parliament. I need not trouble your Lordſhip with their names, becauſe there are printed liſts of ſeveral votes. I ſhall only mention one who happens to be a relation of mine, and therefore deſerves the more to be puniſhed; his name is Urquhart, of Meldrum. I wiſh, my Lord, every body would act the ſame part in this matter as I do. But that I deſpair to ſee. We have to-day carried an alteration in the eighth article againſt one moved by the oppoſing party, which would indeed have been worſe; though, truly, I think the one carried bad enough. I ſtrongly wiſhed to have paſſed the clauſe as it ſtood; but moſt of her Majeſty's ſervants, being of another opinion, I was obliged, though much againſt my will, to ſubmit, and ſo voted for the leaſt of two evils, as I have been forced to do in other caſes of the ſame nature; for I have from the beginning declared myſelf, both in public and private, againſt all manner of alterations whatſoever. I was glad to hear your Lordſhip was pleaſed with what was done in Parliament in relation to the diſturbances in this country. If my advice had been taken, it had been done ſooner. But I need not ſay any thing of that matter; the parts which all acted are ſo well known, that your Lordſhip will certainly hear of them from other hands. I cannot, my Lord, but regret my bad fortune, in being obliged to be here ſo long; for no ſlave was ever more weary of his galley, than I am of this place. But whatever is for her Majeſty's ſervice, I ſhall always think it my duty to comply with, who am,

My Lord,

With great reſpect, your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,

ARGYLE.

Lord Somers to Lord Halifax *.

May 28, 1706.

I ACKNOWLEDGE the honour of your letter from Oſnaburg, dated the 16th inſtant, our ſtile, which I received on Saturday. I am glad your Lordſhip has got very well ſo far on your journey; for I have been truly angry with Vanbrugh, who has detained you ſo long; becauſe I cannot, but with a good deal of impatience, expect and deſire your return; not only upon the account of the pleaſure which I can find no where but in your company, but for many other reaſons which you can think ſooner than I can enumerate; particularly in reſpect to the Union, where we meet with ſome difficulties, which your Lordſhip could eaſily ſolve.

The ſucceſs † (of which you have had, at leaſt, as good an account as we, before this time) has been ſo great and ſo unexpected, and is already attended with ſuch circumſtances, that it will not be hard for your Lordſhip to judge of us, as people incapable of judging or talking reaſonably. When I conſider the proſpect you had when you parted with the Duke of Marlborough (I ſhould rather ſay what he had) and what has happened ſince in ſo ſhort a time, I can only ſtand amazed. Let that conſideration engage your Lordſhip to think it very material to anſwer an inquirer two queſtions; firſt, what we are to do next? and, ſecondly, what is moſt wanted? Oſtend is the firſt thing; and I believe moſt of the other places in Spaniſh or Walloon Flanders; ſo the firſt queſtion goes no further. Your own good ſenſe carries you on as far as it can go. But as there is ſomewhat in finding out the ſentiments of thoſe where you

* Lord Halifax was employed, at this time, to carry the regency act to the Court of Hanover, and to execute ſome commiſſions *(in paſſant)* at the Hague, and the Duke of Marlborough's army.

† The battle of Ramillies, fought on the 23d of this month.

ANNE. 1706. are, who know the common intereſt and are alſo concerned; ſo I think it would be of great uſe to draw your Lordſhip from different views, and to ſee on which part it will make the beſt picture. My ſecond queſtion is, What are we to aſk? for whatever that is, I begin to think it is coming to the time; whether it be money, whether it be places in Europe, any where elſe, or any thing at all * * * * * * * (Imperfect.)

Lord Halifax to Lord Somers.

My Lord, July.

I WAS reſolved to follow your Lordſhip's advice as far as poſſible in finiſhing the treaty* before I came over; I waited at the Hague for the Seſſion of the States of the province of Holland, and I could not bring it to be conſidered till Friday laſt. Then they entered upon the examination of it, in a Committee firſt, and afterwards in the Aſſembly of the States of the province. They came there to an opinion for advice, which is to be kept ſecret under an oath; ſo that I am not certain what it was; but I have reaſon to think it was to this effect; viz. that the Queen ſhould be acknowledged as a preliminary. When I came from Hanover, I found that they made difficulties in this; they imagined the peace was to be made like that of Reſwick; that we were to uſe their intervention; and the Queen was to be treated with only as an ally to them, and to be acknowledged at laſt when the treaty was ſigned. I confeſs this way of diſcourſe did a little provoke me; and I thought it was not ſufficient to anſwer their reaſonings upon it off hand; but I wrote a long letter to the Penſionary, that he might ſhew to others

* This year, peace was offered by the French King, on terms which the allies thought proper to reject,

to

to let them know, that the Queen and nation would never be consented to treat in this manner. It had ſo much effect, that I heard no more of thoſe arguments; they agreed, that the Queen ſhould be owned as a preliminary; but ſtill they thought it ſufficient, and more proper, not to put it in the treaty, though they will neither ſign the articles, nor conclude the treaty, unleſs it be clearly acknowledged. There is no great difference in the manner. I fancy, they have made that alteration of the 6th article, and have added a clauſe, whereby the Queen is to engage that ſhe ſhall procure for them a good barrier: I foreſee no difficulty in this, for we ſhall be as forward as they to have the frontiers ſecure.

But there will be ſome nicety in expreſſing this; for if it be worded in general terms, it will be very uncertain; and if they name particular places which ſhall be put into their hands, it will be very hard to agree upon them, and may give offence to ſome others of the allies. In my opinion, they ſhould word this as ſtrong, and as particularly as they pleaſed; for I think it is our intereſt that their barrier ſhould be as good as we can get for them; and if they inſiſt upon too much, it will be the greater tie upon them, not to make peace, till it is procured for them. Perhaps this alone is better than all the reſt; for if they are thus drawn in, at their own deſire, to oblige themſelves not to run too faſt into a peace, it were the moſt deſirable part of the treaty. My Lord, I muſt beg your thoughts upon this with ſpeed; for the whole affair will turn upon this.

Helchin, 26th July.

I wrote the former in my paſſage to the camp, where I am received very kindly; and I find the Duke agrees with me in my thoughts what will make things eaſy. He is a little retarded by the want of water. In the mean time, the army is in motion, which is now come up within four hours of the town. He is very zealous in preſſing his ſucceſs, and has ſo many deſigns on foot, that I am in hopes you

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may be again ſurprized by his happy conduct. I cannot ſay ſo much for ſome others; the evil ſpirit takes place again amongſt them; and had they been left to model the government of the Spaniſh Low Countries according to their own fancies, they would make them more uneaſy than they were. The duties upon Engliſh commodities are taken off. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

HALIFAX.

Lord Somers's Anſwer.

My Lord,

I CANNOT ſatisfy myſelf without acknowledging the honour of your Lordſhip's letter, though I am altogether uncertain whether this will reach you; becauſe I think the latter part of your letter gives reaſon to hope you may be with us ſooner than I collected from the firſt part.

I am of your Lordſhip's opinion, as to penning the 6th article, concerning the barrier. The ſtronger the better, if they and we mean the ſame thing by that word; but I am not ſo clear as to that point in my own thoughts, ſince I underſtood they were ſo forward in modelling the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and ſince, you tell me, the evil ſpirit takes place again amongſt them. Your Lordſhip, who knows how the article is worded, ſees through this doubt of mine.

I have always had a great dread of the beginning a treaty with France. I am in ſome degree verſed in treaties of the laſt age. The

French, as ſoon as it is once entered into, will tranſact with particular plenipotentiaries, and are more buſy in ſhewing them their reſpective particular intereſts, than in convincing the ſeveral commiſſions: I could enumerate inſtances of this kind, from the treaty of Vervins downwards. You can judge if there be any danger of this ſort from the ſtate of things in Holland. This ſeems to me the difference that is of moment, between a preliminary article, and an article of the treaty.

You revive me by what you tell me of your hopes that we may be again ſurpriſed. I have ſeen ſuch great things, that I cannot but allow myſelf to carry my hopes to any degree. I cannot help wiſhing to ſee the foundations of ſuch a peace as may be laſting. It is he only can begin the work, we may aſſiſt and carry the ſound forward; but from him it muſt move originally; and I cannot help wiſhing very eagerly, though it is ſcarce poſſible, that this wonderful year——(Imperfect.)

Lord Halifax to Lord Somers.

Oct. 3, 1706.

I AM extremely troubled that you have been ſo much out of order; but am glad your illneſs does not prove to be any thing of the ſtone. Indeed your Lordſhip did ſet out in ſuch bitter weather, that you might expect to catch cold.

I have had one or two conferences ſince you was here, of which Lord Sunderland undertook to give you an account. In the firſt place, I delivered your ſenſe as plainly and directly as I could expreſs it, and I find no reaſon to change our reſolution.

In the 2d, I was ſhewn Buys his letter, which was as much French, as if it had been writ by Aligre; and it was anſwered as heartily and as reſolutely as I deſired; and I hope, when Lord Marlborough

ANNE. 1705.

borough ſhall ſee two ſuch letters from hence, he will be cautious of going into the ſentiments of Holland, and they will not have courage to leave us in points ſo advantageous to themſelves.

I have had a packet from Newmarket with the Earl of Peterborough's letter, and others from Scotland. Theſe laſt have nothing new, except complaints againſt the advocate, who cannot be brought to aſſiſt, though he promiſes not to oppoſe. Duke of Argyle went down yeſterday.

———* talks at the old rate, blaming every thing, and does not ſpeak of one remedy: Lord Treaſurer thinks it beſt to intercept him in Italy; and prevent him from returning, to which opinion I readily concurred. There are ſome ſtrokes in his letter that are plain innuendoes, that either he intends to come hither to complain, or he would have that noble Lord think he intends it.

I have a long letter from the Penſionary about our treaty, which ſatisfies me extremely that my manner of uſing them has been right. Our backwardneſs in going on with that, and Lord Treaſurer's reſolute anſwers, have made them eager to finiſh this treaty.

I cannot anſwer this letter without your aſſiſtance; and, I believe, if you are able to travel, this place will agree with you better than the country. You ſee there are many things to ſettle, and I expect to hear again from Newmarket, when Buys his anſwer comes. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervant,

HALIFAX.

* Probably this blank is to be filled up with the name of Lord Peterborough.

Minutes of Lord Somers's Speech in the Houſe of Lords, on the Bill for aboliſhing the Privy Council of Scotland, and the Amendment, propoſed in that Houſe, to give it a Continuance of ſeveral Months after the paſſing of the Bill. 1707-8 *.

TRUE concern for preſerving the public peace.——Heartily deſirous of the Union.——No leſs deſirous to make it entire and complete.——Not at all perfect while two political adminiſtrations ſubſiſt.——The true argument for the Union was the danger to both kingdoms from a divided ſtate.——Prince able, by the help of one, to enſlave the other, and to effect another ſort of union. ——The advantage of Scotland is to have the ſame eaſy acceſs to the Prince; to be under the immediate perſonal care of the Prince; and not to owe their protection and countenance to any ſubordinate inſtitution.——This was my argument at the Union. ——Will not prevaricate.——Worſe ſtate after the Union, if a diſtinct adminiſtration continue.——Now no Parliament to reſort to in Scotland.——The marks of diſtinction will continue.

Obj. This council is not a conſtitution of ſtate and policy, but, in effect, a ſovereign court of juſtice to ſee the laws effectually executed, and for preſervation of the public peace. Theſe words, as extenſive as *in Ordine ad Spiritualia.*——Unacquainted with Scotland, and have heard much of the fitneſs of ſuch a Council for Scotland; but England would never agree with theſe courts that are mixed of ſtate and juſtice.——Policy ſoon gets the better of juſtice.—— We had a Privy Council in England with great and mixed powers.

* Vide Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 498.

ANNE. 1707-8.

——We ſuffered under it long and much.——All the rolls of Parliament are full of complaints and remedies; but none of them effectual till King Charles the Firſt's time.——The Star Chamber was but a ſpawn out of our Council; and was called ſo, only becauſe it ſat in the uſual Council Chamber.——It was ſet up as a formal court in the 3 Henry VII. in very ſoft words; to puniſh great riots; to reſtrain offenders too big for ordinary juſtice; or, in the modern phraſe, to preſerve the public peace: but in a little time, it made this nation tremble. The Privy Council came at laſt to make laws by proclamation; and the Star-Chamber ruined thoſe that would not obey.——At laſt they fell together, but not without endangering the kingdom.——The Preſident and Council of the northern parts was another of theſe Councils under which we have ſuffered. ——There was a very plauſible pretence, for there had been no fewer than ſix rebellions in the North of England within a very little time.——The country was remote, and it was neceſſary for the peace.——It began very gently, it was in effect no more than an ordinary commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; only a charitable clauſe was added of determining ſuits and differences where both the parties, or either of them, was ſo poor, that they could not ſue or defend themſelves at law.——The Biſhop of Landaff, a very pious good man, was made Preſident; and the moſt popular gentry compoſed the Commiſſion.——Who could ſuſpect ſuch a Council could laſt long, or do much hurt? But it could not be pulled down; and by degrees it grew to that exorbitant height, that the northern part of England could not bear it; and nothing could cure the miſchief, but aboliſhing it.

It is remarkable that when the council was erected for the North, another was ſet up for the Weſt upon the ſame reaſons; the remoteneſs of the country and the care of the peace. But the weſtern gentlemen were ſo wiſe, that they ſaw the danger. They joined in aſſuring the King they would be good ſubjects, and begged to live

under

ANNE. 1707-8.

under his immediete government and the known laws; and it prevailed; and ſo the country continued happy and quiet.

I will mention but one other council that we had experience of in England; and that is the preſident and council of the marches of Wales.——That was an old court, in a manner from the conqueſt of Wales by King Edward the Firſt.——For the laws of the marches being very different from the laws of the principality, it was thought neceſſary to ſet up an authority that ſhould go through the whole.——Henry the Eighth united Wales to England, and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, that union was made complete in every thing; but there was one ſhort unhappy clauſe inſerted, that there ſhould remain a preſident and council, with ſuch officers and clerks as had been uſed.——But this clauſe made them find ſmall benefit of the union.——Perpetual complaints, perpetual encroachments.——This council had power enough to invade the four Engliſh counties next them, and maintained their conqueſt with various ſucceſs, as the prerogative run high or low.——And it was never finally taken away till the reign of the late King and Queen.——This is a ſhort deduction of the hiſtory of theſe councils, with which this kingdom has been afflicted.——We were never quiet till we were rid of them entirely. The great miniſters always ſupported them againſt the ordinary adminiſtrations of law. King James the Firſt, ſeveral times convened his judges to anſwer why they preſumed to grant prohibitions to them, and to the high commiſſion; which was another court of the ſame kind, and by the help of which, the crown in return for gratifying the ambition or ſpleen of ſome few clergymen, made uſe of them to torment and ruin ſome men that were out of faſhion at court, that could not be ſo properly reached in the ſtar-chamber.——Wales and our northern countries are as far diſtant from the ſeat of government as they were formerly, and yet no parts of the kingdom more peaceable.——Hope Scotland, though a little farther northward,

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will be quiet and happy under the influence of her Majeſty, and her council of Great Britain, unleſs your Lordſhips ſhall interpoſe another council to intercept that influence.——For my part, I cannot agree to it; I wiſh North Britain as happy as England; I meant it ſhould be ſo in the union, and I will always do what lies in my little power that it ſhall be really ſo.——Not capable of judging of the circumſtances or diſpoſitions of Scotland; but I ſhould think the true way to make the union well reliſhed, is to let the country ſee plainly, that England means no otherwiſe than fairly by them, and deſires they ſhould be in the very ſame circumſtances they are themſelves.——If this bill be paſſed, it will certainly be an awe upon ill diſpoſed perſons (if there be any ſuch) to convince them, that, ſhould they behave themſelves unpeaceably, the Parliament of Great Britain will be ſure to make a proviſion, and perhaps ſend them a council.

1ſt *Objection*; That too ſudden alterations are dangerous.——This is certainly true, unleſs where the moſt manifeſt danger ariſes from the delay itſelf. What is eſſentially neceſſary to the union, when the thing in queſtion will make an apparent breach in the union, as it will be, if the two countries ſtand upon different politic foundations, there it ſhould be all done at once, or at leaſt as ſoon as poſſible, for delay will make it more difficult.——In the union of Poland and Lithuania, by keeping up their diſtinct great offices of ſtate, and their diſtinct diets; though there be one general diet for their united country, their former manners of diviſion are continued, and have occaſioned perpetual diſſentions and diſtractions, in that imperfectly and unſkilfully united country, ſo that they are much more unhappy than if they had ſtill remained divided.——So great a good as the union cannot be too ſoon perfected.

2d *Objection*; We are in a time of war.——That ſeems to be an argument why it ſhould be done now.——Any danger to the peace of North Britain muſt ariſe from foreign invaſion or domeſtic troubles.

bles.——As for domeſtic troubles, it is hoped they will be of little conſequence, unleſs we will ſuppoſe the council of Great Britain to be aſleep; they will have a proper care and intelligence, and it is not forty-eight hours difference. It is in her Majeſty and the council of Great Britain, that the care of the public peace in all parts of the united kingdom is lodged. And their care is like to be much more ſignificant and effectual.——As to any foreign invaſion.——I hope the enemies are not at leiſure. We are better provided now than can be in time of peace; for then we can have no ſtanding forces. Whereas now there is a proper proviſion made. ——If that ſhould really happen, our reliance will not be upon the orders or advices of the privy council in Scotland, but on the troops.

3d *Objection*; What is propoſed is only for a ſhort continuance. ——I have ſhewn, by Engliſh experience, how very difficult it is to get ſuch an inſtitution, once made, to be laid down.——I have mentioned ſeveral inſtances.——There is ſome danger in making it the intereſt of thoſe who are prejudiced in favour of a council, that North Britain ſhould not be very quiet.——But it ſeems to me, that this very propoſal gives up all that is eſſential in the queſtion.——If it be a good thing, why not to be continued?—— If it be the deſire of Scotland, why ſhew them only to be taken away?——If they are afraid of the council, why ſhould they be terrified with it, when it is not meant to continue?——I think you ſhould expect ſome clear account what is likely to happen in this ſhort interval, that ſhould make it ſo very neceſſary to erect this ſhort lived council.

1ſt. Give me leave to ſuggeſt, that this bill ſhews that it is not thought proper to be continued, in another place *; and by what I obſerve, there is no inconſiderable number here who are no great friends to it.——All who are for it at preſent, agree it is not fit to be continued, however uſeful it may be thought at this juncture.

* The Houſe of Commons.

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——Can there be much expected from an aſſembly ſo ſupported, and ſo oppoſed? They will be thinking more of what they may not do, than of what they ſhould do.——If we lay much ſtreſs upon them, we ſhall lean on a broken reed: a thing weak in itſelf, made weaker by reſiſtance.

Secondly, do not know Scotland. If the peace cannot be kept without the council, the council ought to be continued.——But then I think ſeveral things ought to be made out.

1ſt, What thoſe powers are which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary for preſervation of the peace.

2d, That as the law ſtands in Scotland, thoſe powers are legally lodged in the council.

3d, That thoſe powers are not, nor cannot be ſafely lodged in the privy council of Great Britain, nor in any of the judicatures or magiſtrates in Scotland.

4th, That it be plainly ſhewn, how in ſo ſhort a time the caſe will be altered, ſo that it will become unneceſſary.——For otherwiſe, we are deluded, and are leading Parliament to agree to a temporary proviſion upon reaſons that muſt have a perpetual continuance.——When theſe things are fully explained, I aſſure you I ſhall be as much for this method of preſerving the peace as any body.

Charles Earl of Sunderland to Lord Somers.

My Lord, Althrop, Auguſt the 8th, 1709.

I HAVE the honour of your Lordſhip's letter, and am heartily ſorry to hear you have been ſo much out of order, for nobody is more ſincerely concerned for your Lordſhip's health than I; but I hope the worſt is over, and if ſo, I will yet flatter myſelf with the hopes of having the honour of ſeeing you here.

I am

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I am ſorry to ſee you have ſuch a fit of the ſpleen upon you; for though there is but too much reaſon for it upon the whole, yet if you will give me leave to ſay ſo, I think you puſh it a little too far; for if you will allow me, I will tell you juſt my thoughts in relation to the affair of the admiralty. I own, I never did think they would do it in the right time and manner, either for themſelves or for us: for they are not capable of doing any right thing with a good grace; but, at the ſame time, I am fully convinced, that, if it continues to be preſſed by all of us, as I do not doubt it will, they both muſt and will do it at laſt, as we would have it; though probably they will, in this inſtance, purſue the ſame conduct which they have done in all; not take a reſolution till a little before the Parliament meets. I am ſenſible, that their doing it in this manner, will, in a very great degree, leſſen the good effect of it to the public and to themſelves; but, at the ſame time, I think this ſettling of the admiralty right, in Lord Orford's hands, is a thing of ſo great conſequence in itſelf, ſo national, and ſo great a ſtrengthening of the Whig party, that if they do it at any time before the Parliament meets, we ought to accept of them. On the other ſide, if this opinion of mine ſhould prove a miſtake, and that they ſhould perſiſt in not doing a thing ſo neceſſary and reaſonable, and which they have ſolemnly promiſed; I think we have nothing to do, but to continue, as we have done, to preſs as far as poſſible towards this point, that we may diſcharge ourſelves to the public, to our friends, and indeed to ourſelves; and when that is done, and the proper time come, which I cannot but think is juſt before the meeting of the parliament, to take our leave of them, by quitting, and have nothing more to do with them; and by this we ſhall preſerve our reputation, and our party; and without it, we ſhall have neither. But though this be right at laſt, I cannot help thinking, it would be as well for the preſent, to keep fair with them, and not ſeem to diſtruſt them too much. I aſk pardon for this long impertinent letter;

ANNE. 1709. letter; but you have the matter ſo much at heart, as well as I, that I hope you will pardon it. I have taken occaſion from this event of our Cadiz expedition, which is certainly owing to Burchet's talking publicly in the coffee-houſes of it, to ſpeak to Lady Marlborough upon this ſubject of the admiralty; and I think I have put it ſo home to her, that I cannot but be capable of gueſſing a little what will be done, by the anſwer I ſhall receive. As to your query about the capitulation of the citadel of Tournay; I own, it is a myſtery paſſes my comprehenſion; but, as far as I underſtand the capitulation, there does not ſeem to be any pretence, from the words of it, for a general ceſſation of arms. I am very ſorry for any rub in the way of the proſecution of the proteſtors, but ſince you would not have me, I will inquire no further into it. I heartily wiſh you may find ſome expedient to put the affair in a right way again, for I look upon it as a thing of very great conſequence. I am ever with the greateſt truth and reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

SUNDERLAND.

I am extremely of your mind about our friend Lord Halifax; and if I ſee him here, as I hope I ſhall, I will ſpeak to him very plainly, and tell him the ſecret I told you.

Duke of Marlborough to Lord Somers.

My Lord, September the 30th, 1709.

I AM very much obliged to you for your kind congratulation upon our late victory *; as well as for your good wiſhes of a happy and laſting peace. For I dare ſay none can be more deſirous of it, and I am confident your Lordſhip does me the juſtice to believe,

* Malplaquet.

I do

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I do my utmoſt towards procuring it, by my endeavours to improve our advantages. Your Lordſhip has been informed of what has paſſed between the penſioner and Monſieur Torey, ſince the negociation was ſet on foot at the Hague; and of the letter which the French miniſter wrote to Petkum, which relates to nothing but the effect of Comte Merci's misfortune *. I cannot hear any thing new ſince the battle, and it is probable they will be ſilent till the campaign is ended, when I hope they may change their ſtile; though, it is very obvious, the French are ſo enſlaved to their arbitrary government, that thoſe of the moſt ſolid judgment, and who wiſh well to their country, dare not ſay the leaſt thing which may diſpleaſe the court; but chuſe rather to flatter the King with what may be moſt agreeable. Under theſe circumſtances we muſt wait the iſſue of the campaign, which the ſeaſon of the year, as well as the ſcarcity of forage, will oblige us to conclude earlier than otherways we ſhould do; and when we come to the Hague, I hope your Lordſhip will favour me with your thoughts, what you judge may moſt conduce to the public good. I am, with great truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

MARLBOROUGH.

* Count Merci was defeated by the French General Count de Bourg, on the 26th of Auguſt, in Alſace.

No. VIII.

From the originals in the Paper Office.

Papers relative to Lord Oxford's adminiſtration, and the treaty of Utrecht.

[The following documents about a well known and much agitated period, will ſpeak for themſelves; in particular, the Cabinet Minute under Mr. Harley's own hand muſt be thought a very curious anecdote. The letters about the Utrecht negociation are either not inſerted, or very imperfectly abſtracted, in the report of the Secret Committee in 1715. Whatever reputation the merit of the treaty deſerves (and many capital objections may be made to it) Lord Bolingbroke muſt be allowed to have drawn up his diſpatches with remarkable energy, ſpirit, and perſpicuity. When he mentions having received the Queen's directions in Council, it was not from mere official form, *par maniere d'acquit*, as it were, that he ſays it. Queen Anne frequently attended her Cabinets; and Lord Bolingbroke aſſured a late great Miniſter, from whom the Editor had it, that ſhe herſelf propoſed the famous reſtraining orders to the Duke of Ormond, which his Lordſhip ſolemnly declared he had not been apprized of; and in the firſt emotion, was going to have objected to them; but after the Queen had delivered her pleaſure to the Lords, ſhe made a ſign with her fan at her mouth, which Lord Bolingbroke knew ſhe never did, but when ſhe was determined on a meaſure; he, therefore, unhappily for himſelf and his country, acquieſced; and inſinuated, when he told the ſtory, that the advice was ſolely ſuggeſted by his rival Lord Oxford. Sir William Temple obſerves very truly in his Memoirs,

Memoirs, on a ſimilar occaſion *, that when Princes call their Counſellors together, it ſhould be with a reſolution to hear what they have to ſay, before a meaſure is determined; and that to have Counſellors, who do not ve counſel, is a ſoleciſm in government.]

Robert Harley to the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord, Sept. 16-27th, 1707.

I SEND your Grace herewith an extract of a letter from Hanover, and alſo another from M. Chamillart to M. Tallard.

Mr. Schutz tells me, that he has advice, that the Swediſh Miniſter preſſes the Court at Berlin to enter into the triple alliance, and that they two may do it without the Houſe of Hanover, if the Elector continues to refuſe his conſent.

I have deſired my Lord Treaſurer to aſk leave for me to go into the country, which I hope to do this day ſe'nnight. I entreat your Grace will permit me now, upon my taking leave, to aſſure you I never have writ any thing to you but what I really thought and intended. I have, for near two years, ſeen the ſtorm coming upon me, and now I find I am to be ſacrificed to ſly inſinuations and groundleſs jealouſies. I have the ſatisfaction, not only of my own mind, but my enemies and friends witneſs for me, that I have ſerved your Grace and my Lord Treaſurer with the niceſt honour, and by the ſtricteſt rules of friendſhip. That I have ſacrificed every thing to this the world knows, and that what credit I have with the clergy or laity, has been all employed to no other end but the ſervice of both your Lordſhips.

I have not interpoſed in, or contradicted directly or indirectly, by myſelf or any other, the putting in or putting out any perſon, or

* Vide his Memoirs, third and laſt Part.

ANNE. 1707.

meddled with any meaſures which are taken; for I have avoided knowing them. And yet I am now firſt charged in general; and when I deſired that particulars might be told me, nothing is ſpecified but the two nominated biſhops. I muſt therefore ſay the ſame to your Grace I did when it was mentioned to me yeſterday, that I never knew thoſe two perſons, I never ſpoke of them, nor ever thought of them, or directly or indirectly ever recommended them to the Queen, or to, or by any other perſon. And, my Lord, I muſt do myſelf this juſtice, that I am above telling a ſolemn lye; that I ſcorn the baſeneſs of it; and that if I had known or recommended thoſe perſons, I would not have been ſo mean as to deny it, but would have owned it, and given my reaſons for it.

And now, my Lord, ſince I am going into the country, and perhaps Sunday next may put an end to any farther opportunity of my troubling your Grace with letters; I beg leave to aſſure your Grace, that I ſhall always preſerve an entire duty and ſervice for your Grace; and I will add but this, that if there be any uneaſineſs in the Queen to comply with any propoſals, I heartily wiſh that the true reaſon of it may be found out; for, as I have no hand in it, nor any friend or acquaintance of mine that I know of, ſo I believe that half the pains which is taken to accuſe and aſperſe the innocent, would diſcover the true cauſe, and provide the remedy.

I ſhall trouble your Grace no more upon this ſubject; I humbly beſeech you to forgive what is extorted by the undeſerved miſrepreſentations made of him, who has neither in thought, word, or deed, contradicted the title of being, with the utmoſt ſincerity,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

R. HARLEY *.

* Mr. Harley was removed from the office of Secretary of State in February 1708.

Mr. Harley's Plan of adminiſtration.

October 30th, 1710.

THE particulars I had the honour to ſpeak upon at Windſor, were comprehended under theſe general heads.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
ENGLAND.
SCOTLAND.
IRELAND.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—It is abſolutely neceſſary that the Queen ſhould have ſuch Miniſters abroad, who will ſet in a right line her Majeſty's proceedings, and give true accounts of affairs where they reſide; no time ſhould be loſt in doing this, becauſe the Parliament draws near, and wrong repreſentations on either ſide will be very dangerous.

The Hague * is the centre of buſineſs and intelligence, and is firſt to be taken care of.

Vienna and Turin †.—Theſe two are in the next place to be conſidered, and the rather becauſe there does ſeem to be a ſecret which is concealed from all here.

Portugal and Spain,—deſerve the next thought and care, and which will be the reſult of the negociations in the places before mentioned.

I crave leave to make this obſervation, that when foreign Miniſters have other dependencies than on the Prince who ſends them, their Maſter's buſineſs is the leaſt of their care.

The vigour of the Queen's proceedings, hath recovered the reſpect only due to her Majeſty; and thoſe in Holland, who had their eyes

* Lord Townſhend was then at the Hague, and ſoon afterwards ſucceeded by Lord Straſforde.

† Lord Peterborough was ſoon after appointed for thoſe Courts.

elſewhere,

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Domeſtic affairs are next in order, viz.

ENGLAND.—The Queen has had an opportunity of ſeeing where the true ſtrength and inclination of the people are; though in many places the Crown officers have appeared the other way, and in all places the faction have been for many years poſſeſſed of the power.

The great care ſhould be, that this bent and diſpoſition of the people ſhould be guided and directed for the Queen's ſervice, and the public good, and not be at the diſpoſal of particular perſons. The two chief methods to do this, is, 1ſt, By a ſteady management. 2d, Avoiding to give jealouſies.

To conſider the ſeveral particulars:

The Lawyers.—The alterations lately made there, ſeem to have ſecured the moſt valuable part of that gown.

The Clergy.—Theſe are more numerous, and now very much united; there is not much difficulty in making this body dependant on, and uſeful to the government, if the Queen's ſervants will ſincerely go about it. The true reaſons of the diviſion have been, that the Miniſters of State would ſupport the minor part of the clergy againſt the major, who were excluded from preferments; and thoſe were engroſſed by the leſſer part, who were afraid alſo of ſome animadverſions upon ſome of their number, for unwarrantable books they had publiſhed. The way will be, to let both ſides know the Queen is reſolved to have peace; if the Archbiſhop * were con-

* Tenniſon.

vinced of that, he would no longer foment theſe diviſions, nor be a tool to a great Lord *.

On the other hand, if the Queen allows the Lower Houſe to proceed on buſineſs, it muſt be ſuch as ſhall be firſt agreed upon; and they are to know, they are on their good behaviour; ſhould they be extravagant, they can hurt none but themſelves, and are eaſily ſent going.

The making popular and able men chaplains, will alſo go a great way in engaging all the valuable men amongſt them.

The Queen's Miniſters come next to be conſidered.

The Faction have no hope but from diviſions at Court, and at this time it will be of very ill conſequence, if, by the behaviour of any of thoſe † who have credit with the Queen, there ſhould be a pretence in either Houſe to doubt what the Queen's mind is.

The Queen is the centre of power and union; if a breach be ſuffered to be made in her Miniſtry, the enemy will enter at that breach.

One thing deſerves moſt ſerious and immediate thought, viz. In what manner the General ſhall be received at his return, and how the reſt of the Queen's ſervants are to live with him.

The Parliament.—The Houſe of Lords. The faction have moſt of their ſtrength there, and moſt of their able men, and they will attempt to unite themſelves at the firſt by ſome vote; therefore no time ſhould be loſt in ſecuring thoſe who are to be had before they are engaged too far the other way; ſuch as,

Earl Peterborough, Lord Haverſham,
Lord Mohun, Lord Fitzwalter, and others.

Houſe of Commons.——The majority there is apparent. The Queen's ſervants muſt have directions to be prudent in conducting this majority; and the pleaſing the clergy, avoiding giving

* Probably Lord Somers.

† Duke and Ducheſs of Somerſet probably alluded to.

jealouſies,

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jealouſies, and the hopes of places after, will render that Houſe eaſy this ſeſſion.

There is one weak place where the enemy may attack *, and that is, the affair of the Houſe of Hanover; but that muſt be left to the Queen's great wiſdom to conſider how to prevent it.

The next material points are,

Army, Admiralty.—The ſame conſideration is applicable to both; that is, to make the officers for both ſervices dependant on the Crown. One eaſy method will do this, which is the practice every where elſe, viz. That the beginning of every year, the Queen appoints all the general officers who ſhall ſerve that year, and in what place: the ſame for the flags and captains.

The next is, that the Queen ſuffers no one to diſpoſe of regiments but herſelf †: this is what all other Princes and States do, and the Dutch have lately renewed this order again, upon the abuſes committed after the battle of Taniers: and the Queen may declare this as a ſtanding order of government in the next Council.

Scotland, Ireland, and the Weſt Indies, may be reſerved for another paper.

* Mr. Harley knew, that was a very delicate thing to touch with the Queen.

† This levelled at the Duke of Marlborough.

Mr. Prior to Lord Bolingbroke.

My Lord, Verſailles, Dec. 28-17th, 1712.

I ARRIVED at Paris the 18-7th, Sunday, having gone the day before about four leagues out of my way, to meet the Duke d'Aumont, who was then on his way to England. I thought my ſo doing ſhewed reſpect to a man of his quality, and hope the converſation I had with him may ſet him right, as to ſome company that may probably offer themſelves to him upon his arrival at London.

I went on Monday to Verſailles, and immediately found a gentleman with a compliment from Monſ. Torcy, how much he longed to ſee me, &c. which, as ſoon as he did, he fell upon the topic of Tournay, and the Elector of Bavaria. He will not allow that Prince's intereſt to be ſufficiently ſecured, ſince he is only to have a temporary and conditional proviſion allowed to him in thoſe provinces, of which the States are in the mean time to be real maſters; who (notwithſtanding what is now ſtipulated for him) may turn him out at their pleaſure, except ſome guarantee is formed in his behalf to put it out of their power, as it may be in their will, to hurt him. Not but that all this while the Court of France is very well pleaſed with what the Queen has done; but that they wiſh ſhe would do more, and that ſome further temperament may eaſily be found to ſecure the States from any apprehenſions they may lie under from the Elector's being too near them, and ſcreen that Prince's honour a little from being (as Monſieur Torcy calls it) under Dutch guards *. I need not tell your arguments, for I had them from you my Lord, which I uſed to Monſieur Torcy upon this occaſion. In ſhort the whole matter lies

* He was to have reſided in towns which had Dutch garriſons.

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ſo, that the peace may go on upon it, which is the point we ſought, and the Queen may do more for this Prince, as her intereſt and generoſity perſuade. Count Monoſtrole ſaw Monſ. De Torcy the ſame night, paid me a viſit the next morning, and expreſſed, in the civileſt terms imaginable, the great obligations his maſter had to her Majeſty, but ſtill inſiſting that ſhe is the arbitreſs of Europe, and may, as ſhe pleaſes, relieve a Prince who will have an eternal ſenſe of her goodneſs. Monoſtrole went the ſame day to Compeigne to the Elector, and you will hear more of him yet before I cloſe my letter.

The next morning I had an audience of the King, in which I repeated to him (according to my inſtructions) the deſire her Majeſty had, that the negociation, which had been too long obſtructed, ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy concluſion; and that her Majeſty had given ſuch orders to her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht as might moſt effectually oblige the States General without delay to enter into her meaſures, and ſuch as might at the ſame time moſt properly conduce to favour the Elector of Bavaria's intereſts, as his Majeſty deſired. He interrupted me, and ſaid, he hoped the giving up Tournay * would have that effect, and that her Majeſty could not oblige him more in any thing; that he deſired, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of the peace, and a good correſpondence between the nations, and did, and would do all he could to obtain it; of which, he ſaid, I ſhould aſſure her Majeſty, and return his thanks to her for the letter *qu' elle a eu la bonté de m' ecrire.*

I went on to ſay, there remained between their Majeſties ſome bounds in North America to be regulated, and ſome general points to be ſettled, upon which a treaty of commerce might be founded. He anſwered, that his miniſters had received his full orders upon

* The giving up Tournay was, at leaſt, balanced by reſtoring Liſle to France.

thoſe

thoſe heads. As to what I added, that her Majeſty had named the Duke of Shrewſbury her Ambaſſador for France, he anſwered, that the Queen had done him a great pleaſure in naming a perſon of the quality and merit of that Lord.

I have gone over the other points of my inſtructions with Monſ. De Torcy. As to the difficulties from Madrid, concerning the tenure of Sicily, and its remaining any way feudatory to Spain; I have for anſwer, that the moſt Chriſtian King underſtands that the ceſſion of that kingdom is agreed, and ſhall be executed in the ſenſe in which her Majeſty has underſtood it, and to be clogged with no other reſtriction than that of its being neither alienated nor changed without the conſent of Spain; and that the Marquis de Monteleon has full powers from King Philip to declare himſelf upon that point to her Majeſty's ſatisfaction. Of this I believe your Lordſhip will be ſatisfied before you receive my letter; for I met the Marquis de Monteleon near Dover; and he told me the ſubſtance of what I now write to you.

As to the barrier inſiſted on by the Duke of Savoy, Monſ. Torcy refers me to his laſt letter to your Lordſhip, in which he plainly ſays, that whole affair is adjuſted as much as ever it will be; that his Royal Highneſs has liberty to fortify his frontier, upon the private aſſurance given, that he will not fortify Pignerol; that he has more on the ſide of France than he has had for 140 years paſt; and that what he now aſks is the ancient *domain* of the crown; that he has more reaſon to be ſatisfied than any Prince in the war; and that the King hopes he will not fatigue the Queen any further, after her having obtained ſuch vaſt acquiſitions for him.

The Cardinal de Tremouille writes from Rome to this Court, that 1500 Germans are ready to embark at Naples, in pretence for Sardinia, but in reality for Sicily. This is a matter which nearly re-

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As to the intereſts of the Duke of Lorrain, which I told Monſ. Torcy, the Queen had ordered me to mention here, as ſhe had inſtructed her Plenipotentiaries to ſuſtain them at Utrecht, I have as favourable an anſwer as I could hope. I ſend your Lordſhip incloſed the memorial I gave, and the anſwer, and ſhall impart it to the Miniſter of that Prince here, that he may plead the particularities of his maſter's pretenſions.

I come to our own point ſo long diſcuſſed, and ſo very much embroiled, I mean that of Newfoundland.

The project of a treaty with France which I brought over, was received from the Plenipotentiaries the 8th of April 1712, as I find upon the endorſement. Monſ. De Torcy ſhews me another plan entitled, *Projet propoſé par l'Angleterre*, received from their Plenipotentiaries the 8th of Auguſt 1712. I ſend your Lordſhip a tranſcript of the different articles of theſe two projects relating to Newfoundland, as likewiſe an extract of ſome letters from our Plenipotentiaries to your Lordſhip; and amongſt yours, I preſume you will find others of the ſame tenour. I have likewiſe read over with Monſ. Torcy what their Plenipotentiaries have writ upon the ſame ſubject. In the whole tranſaction I find a good deal of *brouillon*, and by the expreſs which came three days ſince from Utrecht, it is evident they never will agree till reſpective orders are ſent for their ſo doing, from hence, and from Whitehall. After long and ſower but civil diſcourſes upon this point, Monſ. Torcy and Deſmarais ſtill inſiſting upon their undoubted and never yielded right to Cape Breton (in which I am afraid they are too well founded), and the latter having ſtill his eye upon their Chapeau-rouge, or keeping to the

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the preliminaries which give them the liberty of fiſhing where they uſed, which indeed was as well along Chapeau-rouge, as the Petit Port, I ſaid it was in vain for them to ſend to Utrecht for an explanation of theſe matters; for without Placentia, and the advantages which ought naturally to follow its being given up, that article could never be accorded by the Britiſh nation; and that I took only a previous liberty of ſaying this, which the Duke of Shrewſbury would confirm within theſe four days. They agreed that the thing muſt be adjuſted here and at London; and Monſ. Torcy took notes of the ſeveral propoſals I made. Amongſt which, I confeſs I did not mention the offer of half Cape Breton, ſince the whole had been offered ſeveral months before (as your Lordſhip ſees), and had been rejected. After all, I have received this incloſed propoſal from Monſ. De Torcy, and ſend it into England for the Queen's approbation or refuſal; which I would not have ventured to have done, but that I think it gets us ſafely off from the too extenſive clauſe in the preliminaries, gives us the advantage in every part of the fiſhery, leaves the Queen entirely miſtreſs of all that is worth having in Newfoundland, and does really (as Monſ. Deſmarais † expreſſes it), drive the French *au bout du monde*. Monſ. Dowdel, the perſon recommended to us by Gillingham †, and a friend or two here with whom I have talked concerning this matter, and who have been at Newfoundland, are all agreed, that from Cape Roy northward, is a fiſhery yet unknown, and ſuch as has been reckoned not worth trying; and that the whole fiſhery, except a leſs ſort in the Petit Port, lies ſouthward from Bona Viſta, to Cape De Race, and from thence, along the Bay of Placentia, to Chapeau Rouge and Cape Roy, which is now in her Majeſty's hands, without the French being any way to interfere therein.

† Miniſter of the Finances, nephew to Colbert.

‡ An Iriſh agent employed about the Aſſiento.

I have

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I have conferred, as well at Paris as here, with the two miniſters I named before, upon the ſettling and renewing our commerce: I ſend your Lordſhip incloſed a little memorial, which I gave them as a ſort of text to our conference, and a ground for a future treaty. There was no need of my explaining the condition of *amiciſſima gens* as the mutual principle upon which we deſired to ſtand: this, I find, has been diſtinctly handled and abundantly diſputed at Utrecht. The obſervation that Monſ. Deſmarais made upon it is very obvious; that, upon this principle, we ſhould be with France as the Hollanders are, as ſpecified in the tariff of 1664; that the reaſon why the Hollanders had in great meaſure the benefit of this tariff was, that they had laid no impoſitions on the goods of France imported into their provinces; yet the methods of commerce and the neceſſary *droits*, which this kingdom has been forced to raiſe, are ſuch, as that France muſt deny that tariff to them (the Hollanders) particularly as to the *quatre eſpeces*, whale-bone and whale-oil; woollen cloth, and ſerges; ſugars, according to their ſeveral refinements; and all ſort of ſalt fiſh in barrel. Upon all which heads Monſ. Deſmarais aſſerts, it would be impoſſible that France ſhould trade with Holland, except theſe commodities and the manner of importing them, were regulated by the tariff of 1699, or ſome other equivalent proportion. Upon the article of ſalt fiſh, I was very glad to hear Monſ. Deſmarais ſay, that whoever imports it into this kingdom, muſt find it conſiderably advantageous; my thought was, that this ought to be a fair argument to us to mind and improve our fiſhery upon the coaſts of Scotland; for it is this ſort of fiſh which the Dutch import chiefly hither, and which the French mean to bring to the above-mentioned tariff.

Monſ. Deſmarais explains himſelf very much upon the head of an entire prohibition being very prejudicial to both nations, but more ſo to England, he ſays, than to France; and that the high duties on both ſides ought to be taken off, and brought to a juſt medium,

dium, which he thinks impoſſible to be done but by commiſſioners to be named to that purpoſe; for that this muſt coſt a great deal of time, for the French can only take off their duties, as we ſhall take off ours, and the alteration of their edicts muſt go *pari paſſu* with that of our acts of parliament.

To what I objected, that the King being abſolute maſter of his edicts might in the mean time take away the entire prohibition of ſeveral of our commodities, particularly thoſe ſpecified in the edict of 1701, Sept. 6th; he anſwered, that we had likewiſe entire prohibitions; for inſtance, their ſilks were as abſolutely forbid on our ſide, as our cloth is on theirs; and repeated, that the taking off the entire prohibitions, and the alleviations of the high duties muſt go gradually and equally on both ſides, or always be made on one ſide, upon condition that the other perform his part, and be intended to take place accordingly at ſuch a time; for that if the prohibition on the French ſide were (as I ſeemed to think reaſonable) immediately taken off, the Engliſh would run a glut of their goods into France, ſufficient to ſerve the nation for two or three years; while (ſays he) we, the French, ſhall remain *les bras croiſez*, the Engliſh knowing the certain duties payable in France, and the French expecting how, or in what time, the duties upon their goods ſhall be taken off in England.

Upon the whole, he has given this anſwer to the propoſals I gave him, as what might ſerve for a ground-work to a treaty of commerce. It was yeſterday read in Council, and I received it this morning from Monſ. De Torcy, together with a ſcheme of the chief commodities which France ſends to England, which he deſires may be returned with the ſpecific duties payable in England upon every head; and what time may probably be aſked for the alleviating any part of them. And he deſired we ſhould ſend a like ſcheme of Engliſh goods, which we import chiefly into France, and promiſes

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to give us thereupon a reciprocal account, the King being very willing to open a trade as ſoon, and as fairly as poſſible, with his old friends: but he concludes, that the confuſion and miſunderſtanding of twenty years will not be redreſſed without a good deal of time and labour.

The uſual articles, therefore, of a treaty of commerce, that of the *droit d'aubaine*, that of the *tare*, and what your Lordſhip ſees is pretty nearly adjuſted, may be agreed and ſigned at Utrecht, with the treaty of peace, but in a diſtinct inſtrument, and as a treaty of commerce; and in it the ſpecialties as to the manner of diminiſhing the *droits*, and regulating the tariff muſt be provided for by one general clauſe.

I have waited on Monſ. Pontchartrain *, and not perceiving that the liſt of ſhips taken (as we allege) contrary to the terms of the ceſſation, or to the uſual maritime laws which I formerly left with him, has been regarded, I left another liſt with him, to which, he ſays, I ſhall have an anſwer in a few days.

John Wynne (the poor man ſo often taken and re-taken), with his ſhip, are ſet at liberty; and our ſubjects, of which I have a long liſt, (which I think comes from Col. Nicholſon), that are, we ſay, taken againſt their wills, and confined at Canada, will have leave to return to Boſton, or wherever we think proper, provided they are not habituated in Canada, and had rather ſtay there than otherwiſe. Of this I ſhall ſend you more by my next.

* Miniſter of the Marine.

From the Same to the Same.

Paris, 29th Dec. 1712.

I TOLD your Lordſhip I ſhould hear more from the Elector of Bavaria; I did ſo by Monſ. Torcy laſt night. Count Monoſtrole * repeats his maſter's acknowledgments to her Majeſty, and his deſire that ſhe will ſet him as free as her preſent circumſtances of affairs may permit; and in a viſit this morning to Monſ. Voiſin, he let fall, as ſeeming by chance, that it was not thought the Dutch would ever pretend to garriſon Luxemburg.

Monoſtrole complains, and the Miniſters here ſecond the complaints, that Bonne, the very and only reſidence of the Elector of Cologne, is to be garriſoned by Imperial troops; and Liege and Huy, by Dutch.

Monoſtrole has repreſented from his maſter, to the moſt Chriſtian King, that a formal treaty was made in 1704, between the Electrice and the late Emperor Joſeph, not one word of which has been complied with, nor any recompence made him upon what was therein ſtipulated; that the Houſe of Auſtria, not to count thirteen millions of florins which they formerly owed him, have, during this war, ſeized all his magazines, cannon, goods, plate, jewels, and pictures; that Rottembourg, the adjacent countries, and other large tracts of land, which are now comprehended in the Upper Palatinate, have been bought by the Houſe of Bavaria, *à beaux deniers contants*, and by conſequence ſhould be reſerved to him.

In theſe points his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would deſire the Queen to favour this Prince, and as he has given Monſ. Torcy order to mention them to me, the Duke d'Aumont will likewiſe have order to ſpeak of them in England.

* The Bavarian Miniſter.

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Another point, upon which this court is very ſolicitous, is, that the Chevalier's remaining in any town in France obſtructs the ſigning the peace, and yet he cannot go to Lorrain till the Emperor's paſſport ſecure him there; your Lordſhip, by the peruſal of the papers incloſed, will ſee the ſtate of that caſe: and I have only to add upon this ſubject, that the court of France expreſſes an impoſſibility on their ſide to do more than they have done, and hopes we ſhould have intereſt enough with the Emperor to obtain ſuch paſſports from him, as may ſecure as well the perſon who is to go into Lorrain, as the Duke of Lorrain who is to receive him.

I have not heard from Utrecht ſince my arrival in France; but I preſume I ſhall hear in a few days, Sunday next being the laſt day allowed for their determination. And if you approve the propoſal relating to Newfoundland, and judge the ſcheme of commerce ſuch as may form a general article, I think, we are ready, let what will happen.

I am more pleaſed with the propoſal as to Newfoundland, becauſe I ſee Monſ. Pontchartrain, and ſome others, heartily diſquieted at it. Monſ. Torcy's letters from Utrecht ſay, that of the provinces, Frize, Utrecht, and Gueldre, were for the peace; and of Holland, the towns which ſtood chiefly out, were Delft, Rotterdam, and Leyden.

The Duke of Argyle is here, and deſires a yacht may be immediately ordered to Calais for his paſſage: he will tell your Lordſhip that the affair of Catalonia remains *in ſtatu quo*. Monſ. Torcy has received advice that the Duke of Berwick is within a day's march of Starembourg; that he has an army of forty battalions and fifty ſquadrons, much ſuperior to that of the enemy. Monſ. Voiſin * tells me, the French are 25,000 effective men; and he reckons the Germans not above 13,000. The Duke of Argyle computes the Germans to be nearer 20,000.

* Secretary at war.

For

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For home news, I ſaw the Dauphin yeſterday; he was brought to the King at table; the child looks very well, a little pale; he is handſome, and ſeems to have a good deal of ſpirit. I expect the Duke of Shrewſbury here on Saturday or Sunday. We have taken a rambling apartment for him in l'Hotel de Soiſſons, which was the beſt however that we could find in all Paris.

I have writ rather a journal than a letter; the diverſity of the ſubjects which it contains muſt plead my excuſe; in every part of it I have done my beſt for the Queen's ſervice, and I leave it to your great friendſhip to me, to give it the moſt candid interpretation. I am with great truth and reſpect.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,

M. PRIOR*.

From the Same to the Same.

My Lord, Paris, the 8th of January, N. S. 1713.

I HAD ſcarce cloſed the letter which I did myſelf the honour to write to you two days ſince, by Mr. Campbell, and wherein I told you that Monſieur Torcy had ſummoned me to Verſailles, in order to inform me of what he had received from his maſter's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, when I likewiſe received the incloſed from the Lords Privy-Seal, and Strafforde, containing the points which yet lie between her Majeſty and this court. I have conferred upon them all in general with Monſieur Torcy; and with Meſſrs. Deſmarais, and Pontchartrain, upon thoſe which more immediately regard their reſpective provinces; and upon the whole ſend you the

* It is not improper to obſerve, that the whole negociation for the peace of Utrecht was carried on extraprovincially by Lord Bolingbroke.

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As to what relates, in Monſieur Torcy's Memoire, to the fourth article, concerning the words *Titulum aſſumpſit & nomen uſurpavit*, or *ſibi arrogavit*, ſince there never was any thing in that grammatical controverſy but its having been diſputed, I take it for granted the matter is long ſince adjuſted, or may very eaſily be ſo, our ambaſſadors not taking notice of it in the incloſed *points in diſpute*. However, I was ſatisfied that Monſieur Torcy ſhould ſend his remarks upon it, ſince his ſo doing is a kind of *Ouvert-acte*, by which the French do once more previouſly acknowledge what they are to ſtipulate with us in that behalf.

The point concerning the ſluices at Dunkirk, will admit of no difficulty, it having depended upon the eſſential difference between demoliſhing the fortifications, and drowning the country; and upon the report which Mr. Hill, according to our embaſſadors, and which your Lordſhip, according to Monſieur Torcy, have made on this ſubject.

As to the limits of Hudſon's-bay, and what the miniſtry here ſeem to apprehend, at leaſt in virtue of the general expreſſion, *tout ce que l'Angleterre a jamais poſſedé de ce côte la* (which they aſſert to be wholly new, and which I think is really ſo, ſince our plenipotentiaries make no mention of it), may give us occaſion to encroach at any time upon their dominions in Canada, I have anſwered, that ſince, according to the *carte* which came from our plenipotentiaries, marked with the extent of what was thought our dominion, and returned by the French with what they judged the extent of theirs, there was no very great difference, and that the parties who determine that difference muſt be guided by the ſame *carte*, I thought that article would admit no diſpute, in caſe it be either determined immediately by the plenipotentiaries, or referred to commiſſioners.

I take leave to add to your Lordſhip, that theſe limitations are no otherwiſe advantageous or prejudicial to Great Britain, than as we are better or worſe with the native Indians, and that the whole is a matter rather of induſtry than dominion. If there be any real difference between *reſtitution* and *ceſſion*, quæritur? yet ſince in either caſe the right of the inhabitant, as to transferring his goods and effects, or diſpoſing of his perſon and family, is always provided for in treaty, I leave it to your Lordſhip's better judgment, if a fixed time in either caſe (ſuppoſe eighteen months or two years), does not put the ſubject who is to have the benefit which *reſtitution* or *ceſſion* grants him, upon a more equal foot, and conſequently leſs to be conteſted, than if the terms of time were different. Your Lordſhip ſees the limitation comes up pretty near to what our plenipotentiaries inſiſt upon, (*i. e.* a year,) allowing ſome months for thoſe people in thoſe remote parts, to be informed of the agreement made here. This article therefore, if agreed, will comprehend thoſe of Hudſon's-bay, Newfoundland, Acadia, and St. Chriſtophers.

Our plenipotentiaries mention nothing relating to the tenth article, by which, in Monſieur Torcy's Memoire, your Lordſhip ſees thoſe of France demand that the ſubjects of that crown may exhibit their complaints to commiſſioners hereafter to be named, in relation to their loſſes at Nevis and Gambia (I mean what we owe them as to Nevis) in like manner as the ſubjects of her Majeſty are to exhibit their complaints as to Hudſon's-bay. Your Lordſhip will ſee that I have got a like clauſe added in favour of her Majeſty's ſubjects, for the loſſes they ſuſtained laſt year at Montſerrat, which I hope may indemnify the particular ſufferers in that caſe, and prevent the ill effects which (as your Lordſhip wrote me word ſome months ſince), might be apprehended from the murmurs raiſed upon that ſubject.

The demand which our plenipotentiaries make, that the French ſhall not fiſh within thirty leagues of the S. E. of Acadia, *i. e.* upon the

ANNE. 1713. the long bank which runs from weſt to eaſt before that country, was founded upon this aſſertion, that while Acadia was in the French hands, we were obliged to the like reſtriction, and conſequently the words in the propoſal lately ſent, " que la province de l'Acadie, " avec tous droits & prerogatives dont les Francois ont joui ſera " cedée par ſa Majeſté, à la reine de la Grande Bretagne," admit our claim, and finiſh the diſpute, as Monſieur Torcy obſerves in the encloſed memorial. But as to their being forbid to fiſh within ten leagues of the north weſt of Acadie, Meſſrs. Torcy and Deſmarais think the propoſition wholly new, alledge it deprives them of the benefit of fiſhing on the coaſt of Cape Breton, and cannot but cauſe (what in every other part of our demands we ſeem to avoid) a future and frequent diſpute between the fiſhers of each nation.

The reſtraining their fiſhery to an exact time, *i. e.* between the 1ſt of April and the 20th of September, they likewiſe except againſt as new, and hope it will not be inſiſted on; Monſieur Torcy civilly taking notice, that we were not ſo unkind to offer ſuch a reſtriction to the Hollanders, or any other nation upon any occaſion, or at any time; and Monſieur Deſmarais, with more warmth, proving it impracticable; that their fiſhers ſetting out from hence, conſidering the hazards of wind, and uncertainties of their voyage, might either be on the coaſts before the day preſcribed, and in this caſe muſt ſtay unactive, at the loſs both of their time and their proviſion, or coming too late, would not be able to cure, and return with their fiſh within a convenient ſeaſon. This, they ſaid, was not of a piece with the *Gens Amiciſſima*, and would be rather an unkind mark of diſtinction ſet upon them, than a real advantage to us.

The iſle of St. Peter, which our plenipotentiaries ſay the French demand, your Lordſhip will ſee is yielded to us in thoſe words of the propoſal lately ſent, *avec la Terre Neuve et les iſles adjacentes a cette iſle.* The reaſon why (as your Lordſhip will remember) Monſieur Meſnager laſt year inſiſted ſo much upon this iſle of St. Peter's,

Peter's, and why the French would have confined our poſſeſſion of the iſles round Newfoundland to a certain diſtance, out of which St. Peter's would yet be exempted, is, that though they had yielded as they have done by the propoſal that part of the coaſts to us, as to drying, &c. they ſtill would have had the convenience of drying upon this little iſle; but it is now evidently given to us, as belonging to Newfoundland; and they take the iſle of St. Paul to be as evidently yielded to them, as belonging to Cape Breton; and ſo the whole matter reſts plain and determined, ſuppoſing always that the propoſal be agreed to.

Give me leave, my Lord, to remark upon this head of Newfoundland, that the laſt offer made by the French plenipotentiaries to ours, that they (the French) ſhould fiſh from the bay of Fortune, round by the North to Bonaviſta, was the ſame which the miniſters here offered to me; and from the bay of Fortune, they receded to Cape Roy. But in the propoſal ſent by me, their liberty begins only from Point Rich; for there is a great tract between the bay and the cape, as likewiſe between the cape and the point abovementioned; and both theſe tracts capable of an excellent fiſhery, which, as I have heard, declines in its value, as the iſland from Point Rich grows ſtraiter towards the N. E.

The difference in the treaty of commerce, relating to liberty of the ſubjects trading is, your Lordſhip ſees, by the incloſed Memoire, agreed in the manner as our plenipotentiaries deſire. As is likewiſe the ſtipulation deſired, that the tariff of 1664, ſhall be the baſe upon which our mutual commerce ſhall be founded, and the rule to which our acts of Parliament and the French edicts ſhall be reduced.

I add to your Lordſhip this little book of their edicts, not knowing if it is not rare in England. I came only to Paris to diſpatch this courier, and go again to Verſailles to-morrow, to ſee what theſe people have further to ſay to me, before the King goes to

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Marly, which will be on Wedneſday, after which the ten days of his ſtaying there makes a ſort of vacancy from all buſineſs.

I expect his Grace of Shrewſbury here every day, having advice, that on the 3d, he was at Margate, and expected the next day at Calais. I am with great reſpect,

My Lord,

You Lordſhip's, &c.

M. PRIOR.

Draught of a Letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior.

Whitehall, January the 19th, 1712-13.

I SHOULD not have taken ſo much time before I anſwered your letters of the 28th of December, and of the 8th of January N. S. if I had not thought that the arrival of the Duke of Shrewſbury, with her Majeſty's particular orders upon the chief points in diſpute, would render my letter in a great meaſure needleſs. I am now to acknowledge thoſe letters, as well as that of the 5th of January which came by Colonel Campbell, and to thank you for the care you have taken in the ſeverāl matters committed to your charge, and the ſteps you have made towards facilitating the whole.

I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to two points in your letters, which are the principal ones that concern us, I mean that of Newfoundland in our treaty of peace, and that of a clear ſettling the tariff of 1664, in our treaty of commerce.

I muſt obſerve to you in the firſt place, that *Article* 12, concerning Newfoundland and Cape Breton, ſent in your letter of the 28th of December, and delivered as an article propoſed in that manner by the plenipotentiaries of Britain, is fallacious, and might lead you to think that we had yielded up the poſſeſſion of Cape Breton. To rectify this, I ſend you the article as I received it from her Majeſty's miniſters,

miniſters, in their letter of the 9th of Auguſt, 1712, by which you will ſee on one ſide how the article was propoſed by us, and on the other, what alterations the French inſiſted on, which has hitherto remained the inſurmountable difficulty.

You ſeem, by ſome expreſſions in your letter of the 28th, to lie under a perſuaſion that the French have an undoubted, and never yielded right to Cape Breton; which is a poſition we never conſented to here; on the contrary her Majeſty looked upon the ceſſion of Acadia or Nova Scotia, *ſelon ſes anciens limites*, to comprehend Cape Breton. But upon the repreſentations made on the part of France, that it was impoſſible their navigation to Canada could ſubſiſt, without ſome place nearer than the mouth of the river St. Laurence, for their ſhips to touch at, the Queen agreed to allow them, not the whole iſland, but the poſſeſſion in common, without fortifying there on either ſide. This indeed the French objected to, as liable to great inconveniencies; and therefore you found among the alternatives, that it was propoſed that we ſhould have one half, and the French the other. Thus the diſpute held, till the Queen was pleaſed to determine in her inſtructions to the Duke of Shrewſbury, that ſhe would yield the propriety of all Cape Breton to the French, on condition that they gave us ſomething for it, that is, the right of fiſhery reſerved to them on the coaſt of Newfoundland. This is the *ultimatum* which his Grace has at preſent to propoſe; for it was not thought fit to add, what we ſee we may obtain when we ſhall pleaſe to come to it, that is, the reſtraining their fiſhery to the Petit Nord, to be reckoned from Cape Bonaviſta northward, round as far as Point Riche, which, as you obſerve, is the moſt favourable conceſſion that we have yet had from France upon this difference. For the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, have not receded hitherto any farther, as I find, than to Cape de la Hau, or the bay of Fortune.

I hope I have explained myſelf clearly as to the buſineſs of Cape Breton and Newfoundland. I ſhall now proceed to the articles

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which we desire to be reinserted in the treaty of commerce, and particularly to that concerning the tariff of 1664, which is No. 5, in the paper marked B, among the papers you received from my office, and is the most essential to our interest of any of the rest. I doubt not but you will have seen by my letter of the 24th of December to my Lords the plenipotentiaries (a transcript whereof was sent to the Duke of Shrewsbury), how ample I was in settling our notion, and that which I apprehended France to have, in relation to the regulating of the duties on each side. By their Lordship's answer, (which you have in the inclosed extract of their letter to me, of the 10th of January) you will see that the point in dispute is set in quite another light than I had took it to be, and the work of the Commissioners is reduced only to the settling of equivalents for the four species, and those other things which we demand over and above the tariff of 1664. This brings our dispute into a narrow compass. If the four species, or any alleviation of them, be granted to the Dutch, of course we shall have the same; or at least her Majesty will think it a point gained to have those differences referred to Commissioners. As to the other points, the articles No. 1. 3. 6. in paper B. are such as our plenipotentiaries think may be obtained; and as to the business of consuls, trading from port to port, and the tobacco farm, I understand she would not have the signing of the treaty deferred on that account; they may likewise be referred to Commissioners if the four species are, though her Majesty, as I conceive, would rather chuse to avoid leaving any thing to Commissioners, who, she fears, will do no good in getting any pretence to garble our present book of rates. Indeed, as the plenipotentiaries say in May last, the Queen, who did not know how soon she might be pressed to conclude her treaties, was willing to refer such difficulties as could not be adjusted at Utrecht, to the care of Commissioners; but her Majesty having since had time enough to consider maturely of all those matters, con curs with the French King in his opinion, as explained in the inclosed.

cloſed, and is moſt deſirous that all cauſe of diſpute ſhould be removed, and the whole concluded at Utrecht.

If therefore the true intention of France be ſuch, as it is ſet forth by our plenipotentiaries, we ſhall have no great difficulty at laſt to compromiſe the whole. But if their view is, as you ſeem to take it, and ſeveral expreſſions in your letters lead me to believe, that they can only take off their duties, as we ſhall take off ours, that the alteration of their edicts muſt go *pari paſſu* with that of our acts of Parliament, and that all muſt be gradually and equally ſettled on both ſides, this is what we cannot conſent to, which will, in its conſequence as we apprehend, either put us under the neceſſity of changing the whole ſcheme of our book of rates, which is impracticable in our preſent circumſtances, or of being deprived of the enjoyment of the tariff of 1664, till we do it. The foundation laid down, and agreed to on both ſides, is *Amiciſſima Gens*; thence we infer that the French ſhall grant no privilege or exemption to any foreign nation, which we ſhall not enjoy. This, they in words conſent to do. Then we offer to put their goods upon the ſame foot as thoſe of the like nature from any foreign nation, and to take away all prohibitions made ſince the year 1664. Upon this, they object that our duties are extremely high, that they do not bear a proportion to the tariff of 1664, and that they muſt be brought down to that ſtandard, otherwiſe commerce cannot be fairly ſettled between the two nations. This is, in effect, to inſiſt that we ſhould make a new tariff on purpoſe for them, and treat them better than we do any other foreign nation at preſent, or that we cannot fairly and juſtly pretend to enjoy the tariff of 1664, as the Dutch are to do, who have laid few or no impoſitions on the goods and manufactures of France. This, you ſee, carries the diſpute off from the firſt principle, and leads us to an intricate detail, and an endleſs diſcuſſion of the value of goods, and the proportion of duties on each ſide. Theſe mazes we can never think of entering into. The

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poſition is plain, as it is ſtated in article No. 5*, that we will not pretend to enjoy the tariff of 1664, till *two months after* the Parliament have brought the duties payable on French commodities to a parity with thoſe payable on the like goods from any other foreign country, &c. which we reckon will give an extreme great advantage to France, ſince it is well known how much more preferable their goods are here, than thoſe of the ſame ſort from other parts.

From what I have here laid down you will obſerve, that neither what you ſay in the ſecond article of your Memorial of the 21ſt of December; "Nous tacherons, &c. de maniere que les conditions, *en ſeront egales* de part et d'autre," nor what the French ſay in anſwer to it; much leſs what is propoſed in the paper received from Monſieur de Torcy the 7th of January ("Lorſque, par acte du Parlement de la Grande Bretagne, les droits ſur les denrées du cru, manufactures, et marchandizes de France, *ſeront reduits à la meſme proportion de ceux* qui doivent ſe lever in France, ſur les denrées du cru, manufactures, et marchandizes de la Grande Bretagne, ſuivant le tariff de l'année 1664, les ſujets de la Grande Bretagne *jouiront alors* en France du tariff de la dite année de 1664,") is conformable either to the article No. 5, which the Queen directed to be inſiſted upon, or to what I have ſaid in explanation of that article, or to the ſenſe my lords the plenipotentiaries underſtand the propoſals of France in. I may take notice, that our offer of not enjoying the tariff of 1664, *till two months after* that we have brought down the exceſſive duties on the goods of France, to the ſame foot with thoſe of other nations, and have taken off all prohibitions ſince 1664, removes entirely the objections of Monſieur Deſmarais, that we ſhould immediately come into the benefit of the Tariff 1664; that we ſhould throw a glut of goods into France,

* It was this very point on which the treaty of commerce was rejected by the Houſe of Commons, the whole body of merchants in London being againſt the bill.

and

and that in the mean time the French would ſtand *les bras croiſez*, and have nothing to do.

I hope I have put the Queen's ſenſe (as expreſſed in the reaſons directed to be uſed in the paper concerning commerce, put into your hands in my office) upon this grand point, in ſo clear a light, as not to be miſtaken. I am ſure I have not ſpared repetition rather than to leave the explanation defective. If I have not the good fortune to be thoroughly intelligible, I own my incapacity of ſaying any thing more explicit upon this ſubject. I cannot conclude without obſerving that I find, in Monſieur Torcy's Memorial upon the differences in the treaty of peace, that the French run into a miſconſtruction of the Queen's ſenſe, in what they advance concerning the liberty of ſelling *the immoveable eſtates* in the places reſtored or yielded. As to the *moveables*, and ſuch like effects, her Majeſty had no objection to it from the beginning. But what concerns the *immoveables*, it was a new pretenſion of the French plenipotentiaries inſerted in ther counter-project, and what the Queen has not as yet in anywiſe conſented to. In my letter of the 20th of December, to the Lords plenipotentiaries (of which the Duke of Shrewſbury has a copy), you will ſee more fully the abſurdity which we think will follow from this general rule. Hudſon's bay is ſuch an uſurpation upon us, that no right can be acquired of ſelling thoſe lands to us again. St. Chriſtophers we have taken from the French, as likewiſe Acadia; which, upon this foot, they would pretend to ſell to us, after we have conquered them. As for their ſettlements in thoſe parts of Newfoundland which they are to give up to us; it appears to me that they may be better founded to demand a liberty of ſelling their immoveable eſtates there; ſince, though we keep up an antient claim to the whole iſland, yet I do not know that we were ever violently, or in breach of treaties, driven out of thoſe poſſeſſions. *Intra annum* was the time allowed to the Engliſh to diſpoſe of their immoveable eſtates in Acadie, when that country was in our poſſeſſion, and

ſhamefully,

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ſhamefully, againſt the intereſt of the nation, and our antient right delivered up by the treaty of Breda into the hands of the French.

The arrival of freſh letters, and new reſolutions taken in council, oblige me to finiſh this diſpatch, and to refer myſelf to a long inſtruction, which by the Queen's order I have prepared for my Lord Duke, I am, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

Lord Bolingbroke to the Duke of Shrewſbury.

My Lord, Whitehall, February the 17th, 1712-13.

IT falls again to my ſhare to convey her Majeſty's orders to your Grace upon the preſent ſtate of the negociation of peace, and I cannot but hope that the effect of the reſolutions which the Queen is now come to, will be an immediate concluſion of the treaty between her and France. At leaſt we ſhall extricate ourſelves from this ſtate of ſuſpence, which the ſeaſon of the year renders it very unſafe to continue longer in, and ſhall know what we have to truſt to on the part of France.

Her Majeſty's conduct will appear fair and uniform to the whole world, whilſt that of the court where your Grace at preſent reſides, will have a quite contrary aſpect, if they do not accept theſe overtures, and cloſe with the Queen at once. But I aſk pardon for troubling your Grace with this preface, and proceed to communicate to you her Majeſty's ſenſe, and her directions, as I received them laſt night in council.

As ſoon as this diſpatch comes to your Grace's hands, her Majeſty would have you, either in conference with the French miniſters, or in a memorial to be delivered to Monſieur de Torcy, or in both, make, in her name, a repreſentation to the following effect.

That the Queen has hitherto deferred the opening of her Parliament, in hopes that thoſe few difficulties which remain undetermin-

ed,

ed, either in the treaties of peace and commerce between Great Britain and France, or in the diſcuſſion of the intereſts of her Majeſty's allies, would have been entirely got over, or at leaſt, that the former being taken away, France would have made ſuch offers upon the latter, as might have enabled the Queen to have ſigned her treaty, without any farther regard to thoſe parties who ſhould not have thought fit to conclude at the ſame time. That the laſt letters which her Majeſty has received from your Grace, as well as her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, not anſwering this hope which ſhe had conceived, but on the contrary ſhewing that ſome few differences ſtill remain undecided in the treaties between her Majeſty and the moſt chriſtian King, and that very little further progreſs has been made towards ſettling the intereſts of thoſe powers whoſe demands have met with the greateſt oppoſition; her Majeſty has judged it abſolutely neceſſary to communicate her ſentiments in this important criſis, and the meaſures ſhe is determined to follow, to his moſt chriſtian Majeſty, ſincerely, and without the leaſt reſerve. That the fruit which ſhe expects from this full communication of her intentions is, either by theſe means to haſten the concluſion of the general peace, or at leaſt of the peace between her Majeſty, and the crowns of France and Spain, or elſe, at the worſt, to prevent at this ſeaſon of the year, and the approach of the ſpring, any ſurpriſe on either ſide.

That you have received from the Queen, and are ready to communicate to the King, her Majeſty's laſt reſolutions, as well upon thoſe diſputes which relate particularly to the intereſts of Great Britain, as upon the chief points that remain undetermined in the general plan of peace.

That theſe are not to be looked upon as new demands on France; moſt of them are points which have been frequently diſcuſſed; and all of them are the moſt reaſonable compoſitions which the Queen thinks

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thinks it poſſible to make, for accommodating the preſent differences, and reſtoring the public tranquillity.

That if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall think fit to agree in theſe particulars with the Queen, your Grace has directions to give immediate notice therof, to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to whom a courier will be diſpatched from hence to-morrow morning, with the powers neceſſary for them to aſſume the character of ambaſſadors, and to ſign the peace.

That theſe miniſters upon the receipt of this advice from your Grace, are directed to declare in the Congreſs, that the intereſts of Great Britain and of France are entirely ſettled, and that they ſhall proceed immediately to ſign her Majeſty's peace.

That theſe miniſters are likewiſe directed, in purſuance of this declaration, as ſoon as the miniſters of France themſelves ſhall deſire it, and as the ſeveral inſtruments can be prepared, to conclude.

That it is to be hoped, all the allies will finiſh at the ſame time; but that if any of them ſhould not be ready, her Majeſty's miniſters are ordered nevertheleſs to proceed to ſign, leaving the general plan, as it is underſtood at Utrecht, and with the alterations and additions now propoſed by her Majeſty, as the ſcheme which ſuch parties may, within a term to be ſettled between her Majeſty's miniſters, and thoſe of France, come in upon.

That this proceeding on the Queen's part, is a full accompliſhment of that promiſe which her Majeſty formerly made, and has frequently repeated to the moſt chriſtian King. But that the declaration, which always accompanied this promiſe of her Majeſty's, muſt not be forgot; which declaration was, that if her allies did ſincerely enter into diſpoſitions for peace, and conſequently if the delay of concluding did not ariſe from them, her Majeſty would think herſelf obliged to keep other meaſures with them, and not ſign without them.

That therefore if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall not conſent to the propoſitions which your Grace is ordered by her Majeſty to make, as wel

in her own behalf, as in behalf of her allies; the Queen will in purſuance of the eſtabliſhed principle which is above-mentioned, continue her good offices for reſtoring the public tranquillity; but will be obliged to defer the execution of her treaty with France, until his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the other powers concerned in the treaty of peace, ſhall come nearer to agreement.

That, upon theſe conſiderations, and with theſe views, the Queen has again prorogued her Parliament to Tueſday the 3d of March old ſtile, that the manner of her ſpeaking to the two houſes, and indeed to the whole world, will depend upon the reſolutions which the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall take upon this occaſion.

That, in one caſe, her Majeſty will ſpeak of her own peace as concluded, and of the terms of peace for her allies, as agreed between herſelf and the King, and therefore propoſe to her people no other proviſions for the ſervice of the year, than what are neceſſary for the maintenance of the common guards by ſea and land in time of peace.

That, in the other caſe, her Majeſty will be obliged to ſpeak of the event of the negociation as ſtill uncertain, and therefore to demand ſuch ſupplies of her Parliament as may be neceſſary for the carrying on the war, if unhappily the negociation of peace ſhould not ſucceed.

That it is now in the King's power at once to make his peace with the Queen, and to ſecure the ſucceſs of the general treaty. That her Majeſty has, through the whole courſe of this negociation, done all that was poſſible to calm the minds, and to moderate the expectation of the ſeveral allies. That the general plan of peace, with the propoſitions now made, comes very near to the plan which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty thought fit to offer. In a word, that the Queen can reduce the demands of her allies no lower than they will, according to this ſcheme, ſtand. And that ſhe cannot doubt the compliance of the King, ſince ſhe is perſuaded his Majeſty will

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maintain, to the end of the negociation, the ſame ſpirit of facility, the ſame ſincerity, the ſame candour with which it was begun.

The two papers encloſed (No. 1, and No. 2.) contain her Majeſty's reſolution upon the diſputed articles of her own peace, and of the general plan. Theſe are what I refer to above, and what your Grace will pleaſe to offer as the Queen's *ultimatum* to the French.

Her Majeſty thinks it impoſſible that the King can have any real difficulty in agreeing to thoſe points, wherein ſhe inſiſts as to her own intereſts. There are but two which deſerve a paragraph beſtowed upon them, and they are in the 12th, and in the 14th articles of the treaty of peace. We perſuade ourſelves that Monſieur de Torcy's argument upon the firſt of theſe, makes directly againſt him, and for us. Since they agree not to fiſh upon the coaſt of Acadia, nor upon the bank, it can do them no hurt to have the boundary fixed at thirty leagues. And ſurely, my Lord, the naming a determinate diſtance is much leſs likely to create new diſputes than a general ſtipulation.

The clauſe of *Bona Immobilia*, in the 14th article, her Majeſty never heard of till the French's counter-project was tranſmitted about the end of December laſt; and ſhe never agreed to that pretenſion of ſelling the immoveables in St. Chriſtophers, and Acadia, upon the diſtinction of places yielded, and places reſtored. But in debating this matter it was ſaid, by her order, (to ſhew the abſurdity of this demand,) that the French would have more reaſon to expect ſuch a privilege in Newfoundland, where they did not demand it. And from hence I obſerve in the paper ſent me by your Grace, and marked No. 3, that Monſieur de Torcy would ſuppoſe, that this privilege was to be allowed to them in St. Chriſtophers, in Acadia, and in Newfoundland; which ſurely is not, at any time, very fair, and when there is ſo much reaſon on all ſides to ſhun delay, not very wiſe.

Upon

Upon the whole matter, I wiſh the French may as eaſily conſent to the terms of the paper marked No. 2, as I dare ſay they will to that marked No. 1.

I believe, that whenever it ſhall be conſidered, how far the demands of the allies are by her Majeſty's interpoſition reduced, from what they formerly aſked, and from what France herſelf would willingly have granted, the ſcheme of peace, as it will ſtand, when the propoſitions made by the Queen ſhall be accepted, muſt be thought ſuch a bargain, as no ſide can have reaſon to complain of. And I beg your Grace's leave to make ſome obſervations on the principal heads.

The States General have hitherto inſiſted on Condé in addition to the barrier offered them, on the four ſpecies, and on all the dependencies belonging to Ypres and Tournay now diſputed. Their demand of Condé, the Queen conſents ſhould be dropped; the four ſpecies ſhe has ſo far given up in her own caſe, as to refer the diſcuſſion of them to Commiſſioners, and ſhe expects that the States ſhould do the ſame. Of the dependencies which are ſtill controverted, two, viz. St. Amand and Mortagne (for the latter of which, the Dutch have the pretence of conveniency) the Queen is willing to oblige the Dutch to yield. The other two, viz. Bailleul and Poperingue, (which are neither paſſes nor fortreſſes, and in the yielding whereof, nothing is concerned, but a little more, or a little leſs revenue), the Queen is deſirous to preſerve for the States; though your Grace has a power even of departing from the former, rather than not conclude.

Surely, my Lord, upon a fair computation, the ſum total of the conceſſions made to France, will balance that of the conceſſions made by France in this part of the plan which relates to Holland.

Upon the head of Bavaria, the French would do well to conſider, what diſadvantage their ſtiffneſs as to the barrier of the empire

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throws all arguments under, which are made uſe of in favour of this Elector.

The propoſition which my Lord Strafford made for him ſome time ago, and which her Majeſty thought the French intended to acquieſce in, is not without its difficulties; yet even that appears to them not ſufficient for this ally; and they have been trying by all the arts of negociation to get more for him. Though it might be expected that the Queen ſhould think herſelf under no obligation, ſince the French miniſters did not at firſt accept what ſhe offered in their maſter's name, yet her Majeſty is ſtill willing to ſtand to that propoſal, ſoftened and improved to the Elector's advantage, as your Grace finds in the memorial that accompanies this letter. And the ſingle queſtion ſeems to be, whether France will be contented to accept, what, without the Queen's aſſiſtance, they could never have hoped to obtain for the Elector, or whether, they will defer their peace with the Queen, and expoſe the general treaty to new dangers, in order to play ſuch a trick, as indirectly to endeavour to acquire Luxembourg, which they have in their general offers plainly yielded. For this is, without diſpute, the meaning of all this late management.

I have reaſon to believe, from the accounts which have come to my hands of what has paſſed at Utrecht, that the demand made for Portugal, will go very hardly down with the French court; and yet ſurely there is nothing more reaſonable for France to conſent to, than what the Queen propoſes.

Portugal was entituled to demand a conſiderable barrier; and whatever contempt the French miniſters may think fit to treat the Portugueſe with, yet they ought to pay reſpect to this pretenſion, ſince it was become her Majeſty's pretenſion by the engagements ſhe entered into when ſhe made the treaty of 1703.

This barrier is at once given up, and in lieu thereof a promiſſory ſecurity only, is demanded of France and Spain. Now ſince the

the Portugueſe do conſent to accept of this ſecurity in lieu of that which they had ſtipulated for themſelves, and ſince the Queen's honour is concerned not to oblige them to part with one, without making the other effectual to them, it is to be conſidered, that in *Europe* no attempt can be made upon this nation, which the crown of Great Britain will not be almoſt as much at hand to oppoſe, as France or Spain can be, to carry it on; but in Brazil the caſe is not the ſame. The French * have there ſlided themſelves into the neighbourhood of the Portugueſe, they are every day ſtarting new pretenſions, and making new encroachments upon them. The Queen is at a diſtance, and thoſe feeble ill governed colonies may be overrun, before the news of their being attacked will arrive at London. Nothing therefore can be more juſt, than for the Queen to expect, that, in conſideration of what ſhe yields, (for that expreſſion may be properly uſed) in Europe, France ſhould yield ſomething in America.

Further, the navigation of the river of the Amazons, cannot but give umbrage even to the Spaniards. Whoever is informed of the freſheſt accounts which have come from thoſe parts, and of the lateſt diſcoveries which have been made, will eaſily perceive, what reaſons the Spaniards muſt have for their apprehenſions.

In ſhort, my Lord, the ſource of this river muſt belong to the Spaniards, and the mouth of it to the Portugueſe, and neither the French, nor the Engliſh, nor any other nation, muſt have an avenue open into that country.

I am almoſt aſhamed to have uſed ſo many words upon this ſubject, when I conſider that I am arguing againſt an advantage purely notional, when I am not proving that the French ought to give up what they have had an actual poſſeſſion of, but am barely deſiring them to forego that, which they never enjoyed but in idea.

Your Grace may perhaps wonder why there is nothing ſaid in the Paper No. 2, concerning the intereſts of the Duke of Savoy;

* Surely he means the Spaniards. That matter, with others, was not well ſettled by the treaty of Utrecht.

but

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but the reaſon of it is, becauſe your Grace muſt, without giving up the point, defer the determining of it.

The Queen obſerves, that in your Letter ofthe 16th, you are pleaſed to ſay, that France will yield what had been aſked for the Duke of Savoy, to him, upon condition that his Royal Highneſs will yield to them *la Vallée de Barcelonette, avec les douze communautés dont elle eſt compoſée.* By the letter from the Count de Maffei to me, which comes incloſed in No. 3, your Grace will perceive, that the French miniſters at Utrecht, have made the propoſition in another manner, and have ſaid, that *avec les terres propoſées de la Comté de Nice, le Roy demandoit la Vallée de Barcelonette.* We take it for granted, that the inſtructions of the French plenipotentiaries were agreeable to what your Grace has writ; but theſe gentlemen, it ſeems, had a mind *de faire les bons valets*, and it is no wonder we do not know the true ſenſe of the miniſters of Savoy upon this offer of the French court, ſince the King's miniſters have not truly ſtated the offer to the miniſters of his Royal Highneſs.

It is therefore the Queen's pleaſure, that your Grace ſhould open this matter to Monſieur de Torcy, and ſhould let him know, that for this reaſon the Queen has not ſpoken ſo peremptorily on this head, as ſhe has done upon others; but that her Majeſty will inſiſt to the laſt to obtain for his Royal Highneſs, that which is neceſſary for his ſecurity, he giving the equivalent he has offered, or ſomething equal to that equivalent, for it. Whether the Valley de Barcelonette be that ſomething or no, the Queen cannot yet determine; and upon this occaſion, my Lord, I cannot forbear making two reflections on the conduct which the French court has held, and the arguments which their miniſters have uſed, in debating this part of the general treaty.

Their firſt reaſon for the refuſing the Duke of Savoy the addition which he demanded to his barrier was, that this addition could not be looked upon as really and eſſentially neceſſary to his ſecurity.

Soon after, they offered as an expedient for compromiſing the difficulty, that the King ſhould keep the villages demanded by the Duke, but oblige himſelf not to canton, at any time, troops in them. I appeal to your Grace, whether thoſe who propoſed this expedient, did not thereby very fully give up the arguments they had before inſiſted upon.

Another objection made on the part of France to this demand was, that the villages in queſtion, were part of the antient domaine of the crown, which it ſeems his Majeſty, upon no account whatſoever, can reſolve to yield; and yet this point of honour is to be got over, and his domaine is to be parted with, provided the valley of Barcelonette be given in exchange.

By what I have ſaid, your Grace perceives, that the Queen continues ſtill of the ſame opinion with reſpect to this article of the Duke of Savoy's demands, although ſhe cannot ſpeak ſo poſitively of it as ſhe would do, becauſe the falſe propoſition made by the French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, has hindred her from knowing the ſenſe of the Savoy miniſters upon the true one.

But I muſt open another matter to your Grace, which renders her Majeſty leſs zealous in this cauſe than otherwiſe ſhe would be, or at leaſt makes her think it proper to give ſome appearance of coolneſs. When Monſ. De Mellarede was in England, he aſked her Majeſty's leave to form a body of Iriſh troops, which the Duke of Savoy propoſed to take into his pay, for the garriſoning of Sicily. The Queen did not think fit to agree to this propoſal; but in lieu thereof, Monſ. De Mellarede was told, that her Majeſty would furniſh his maſter with five old regiments of foot to be kept in Sicily. That in conſideration of this, he ſhould be obliged, in caſe Minorca was attacked, to ſend land ſuccours from Sicily thither; as her Majeſty would be obliged, in caſe Sicily was attacked, to ſend a ſquadron of her ſhips from Minorca thither. It is true indeed, that Monſ. De Mellarede deſired a project of a convention for the entertainment of theſe troops;

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troops; which was not at that time given him, and which has been very lately ſent over. But the overture having been made to him, her Majeſty is a good deal ſhocked to find that his Royal Highneſs has not thought it worth his while to take the leaſt notice of it.

I have now gone through all which I had in command from her Majeſty to your Grace, as to the manner of winding up the negociation. I ſhall conclude this ſubject by ſaying that to you, which I am ſure you will ſay to the miniſters of France, that the King has now the whole before him; that the fear of poſterior demands (the old excuſe for unſatisfactory anſwers), can no longer be given, and that we had better run the riſk of thoſe confuſions, which muſt follow the breaking the negociation, or even the protracting it, than ſubmit to receive the law in ſo arbitrary a manner as we muſt do, if France refuſes to ſubſcribe to the plan now chalked out by the Queen.

When I conſider the clearneſs with which your Grace will expreſs theſe orders, the arguments with which you will back them, and that ſpirit with which, I am ſure, you will ſupport the whole, I confeſs I cannot have very much concern about the event.

I ſhall not fail to diſpatch the powers and inſtructions above-mentioned, to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

I am, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

No. IX.

Lord Stair's Embaſſy in France, 1714, &c.

From the originals, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[The object of this noble Lord's embaſſy was of the greateſt importance, and his manner of executing it the moſt brilliant and ſpirited. The former was to diſcover and watch over the intrigues of the Jacobites, when this royal family could not be ſaid to have a firm eſtabliſhment on the throne; and to cement a friendſhip with the regent Duke of Orleans, whoſe ſteadineſs could not always be depended upon, though his political intereſts and thoſe of King George the Firſt were the ſame. No ambaſſador ever exceeded, and few have equalled, the ſplendid and magnificent table, equipage, and train of domeſtics, by which Lord Stair's embaſſy was diſtinguiſhed.

The following tranſcripts and extracts are from the originals in his own hand. They will ſhew the manner in which, on his firſt arrival at Paris, he formed his connections with the Duke d'Orleans and his favourite du Bois; as well as his private ſentiments to his friend Secretary Craggs, on ſeveral material points of his negociations. The firſt openings of Lord Bolingbroke's return to his duty, and his being, in conſequence, reſtored to his eſtate and country, are likewiſe brought to light in theſe papers; and the tranſaction does honour to both thoſe noble Lords. The private treaty with Lord Mar, and the anecdotes about the famous Mr. Law, likewiſe deſerve attention.

It may not be improper to obſerve, that as King George the Firſt was not a maſter of Engliſh, a great deal of the foreign correſpondence in the Secretary's office was carried on in French; and this accounts for the uſe which Lord Stair made of that language in his diſpatches and private minutes.]

GEORGE I. 1714.

*Draught of a Memorial to the Duke of Marlborough, Captain General of the Army**.

YOUR Grace is better able than any man to give teſtimony for the army as to their behaviour in the late war. They had been inſtruments of preſerving the liberties of Europe, and humbling the exorbitant power of France. The war was upon the point of being brought to a happy concluſion, and the army looked for the reward of their good ſervices, when we had a new miniſtry and new maxims. The ſervices done in the war went for nothing. The only merit now was to preach up a ſeparate peace with France, and the abandoning all our allies.

The army obeyed the Queen with great ſubmiſſion, but could not be brought to commend the meaſures of the miniſtry, which they too plainly ſaw tended to unravel all the ſucceſs of the war, and to bring deſtruction upon their own country and upon all Europe.

It will be expected from your Grace, that you repreſent to his Majeſty the hardſhips that a very great number of the beſt officers of the army that have ſerved with the moſt diſtinction, lie under, for their firm adherence to the proteſtant ſucceſſion and to the intereſt of their country. It is very well known that it was the honeſty and the reſolution of the army, that ſupported the ſpirit of thoſe who were friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The army was never to be ſhaken in that point, notwithſtanding all the arts and endeavours that were uſed to bring them over to a contrary intereſt.

This is a truth ſo very well known, that it does not need to be proved; but we ſhall take the liberty to lay ſome facts before your Grace to ſet it in a clear light.

* From the contents it appears that this was writ towards the cloſe of 1714, after Lord Stair's arrival in France.

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As ſoon as the late miniſtry had got the Queen's authority into their hands, the firſt ſtep they took to aſtoniſh the army, was to break three general officers who had ſerved very well in the war, under pretence of their being diſaffected to them, without any proof or accuſation, or council of war.

Your Grace being ſoon afterwards removed from the command of the army, and the Duke of Ormond put at the head of it, and the officers continuing firm in the intereſt of their country and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; new examples were thought neceſſary to intimidate the army. Sir Richard Temple, who had ſerved with great diſtinction in all the war, and who had nothing to be laid to his charge but his not concurring, in the Houſe of Commons, with the then faſhionable meaſures of making a ſeparate peace with France, and deſerting the common cauſe of the allies, was diſcharged from the Queen's ſervice, and had his regiment taken from him, without any other cauſe alledged, than that her Majeſty had no further occaſion for his ſervice.

Lieutenant Colonel Coote had his company of the guards taken from him for no other reaſon, that appeared, but his being preſent at the burning of the Pretender and drinking his preſent Majeſty's health, &c. All arts were again uſed to gain over the officers of the army. Thoſe who were ſuſpected of Jacobitiſm were courted and advanced; thoſe who were known to be firm to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, were neglected, vexed and ill uſed, that they might be provoked to leave the ſervice; and thoſe who were brought into the army, were, for the moſt part, ſuch as profeſſed themſelves zealous promoters of the new meaſures. Lieutenant General Cadogan was forced to ſell his regiment.

When any officer aſked preferment, he was aſked if he would ſerve the Queen in her own way; if he would come into the Queen's meaſures; and obey her Majeſty in every thing without aſking queſtions.

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The General of the army closetted great numbers of officers of every regiment, asking them these questions, down to the rank of Captain.

There was an inquisition set on foot in every regiment, and spies put in pay in all public places, to whisper officers out of their employments. The last year of the Queen's reign, after the chusing of a new Parliament, the Pretender's title was publicly asserted, many books printed in defence of it, and very openly owned in conversation. The protestant succession was, in all the pamphlets and daily papers, writ by authority, vilified and contemned.

The Queen having been ill about Christmas last, and it being apprehended her Majesty might die soon; the resolution of purging the army was openly declared. The Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair, and Major General Davenport, were ordered to leave the army. They had successors named to them, and prices appointed. Several Captains of the foot guards were ordered to sell, and two gentlemen who had been papists till very lately, were brought into to be Captains in the guards.

Black lists were made of every regiment, according to which the army was to be purged, as they called it; by which officers were proscribed, generally speaking, as they had most merit in the service, and as they were known to be best affected to the protestant succession. These lists were credibly reported to exceed the officers in other regiments, besides a great number in the guards, and a hundred and fifty half pay officers. The alarm the Parliament took at the garbling the army, put a stop to it for some time; but the Parliament being up, it was just going to break out again with greater violence. Several officers were under actual condemnation, when it pleased God the Queen died.

Now it being plain that the officers in the army did actually sacrifice all they had, rather than concur in any thing contrary to the interest of the protestant succession; it is hoped that your Grace will represent

repreſent their caſe, as it truly is, to his Majeſty. And they are firmly perſuaded that his Majeſty, having their caſe fairly laid before him, and being appriſed how they renounced the fruit of all their ſervices, and choſe rather to want bread, than to contribute to the overturning the proteſtant ſucceſſion and to the ruin of their country; they are perſuaded, I ſay, his Majeſty is too good to leave them, who ſuffer only for his ſake, to ſtarve, whilſt thoſe who have, in every thing, done what lay in their power to oppoſe his Majeſty's intereſt and to defeat his ſucceſſion, are intruſted with the principal military employments; by which means the ſafety of his majeſty's perſon, and the defence of the kingdom, are intruſted into their hands, who have been the principal and moſt forward inſtruments of raiſing up the power of France, of debaſing the honour and intereſt of their own country, and finally of doing what in them lies to ſet aſide the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

Your Grace knows very well that my attachment to his Majeſty's intereſt, is the reaſon why I not only had no recompence for my own and father's ſervices, which, your Grace knows, at ſome time had been very agreeable to the late Queen, but why I was at laſt turned out of the army.

As my only ambition is to deſerve well of my country, in ſerving the King faithfully, eſpecially in the army, I ſhould with great pleaſure embrace every opportunity of putting myſelf in that way of being uſeful to his Majeſty; and as I am very little fond of making a great eſtate, I ſhould not balance one moment to lay down the ſum your Grace mentions, that I might again have the honour to command a regiment to ſerve the king, if my circumſtances were not ſo narrow that, I am afraid, my friends would have reaſon to complain of me, if I ventured to bring any more debt upon my family, conſidering the ill ſtate of my health.

If

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If your Grace can forgive my troubling you with a detail of my affairs, I will lay them before you in as few words as I can, and leave the determination of what is fit for me to do, in this matter, entirely to your Grace.

When I have ſold five hundred pounds per annum of my eſtate, I have remaining about five thouſand pounds of debt, which I was hopeful to have been able to have paid off, in three or four years time, if I had merit enough to deſerve bread from the King.

His majeſty employs me in a ſtation of great honour and truſt, but where the appointments are very far from being ſufficient to defray the expence I muſt neceſſarily be at. I will give you my word, as things are here now, my ordinary allowance will not pay my houſe rent, my ſervants, and my ſtables; ſo that, with all the œconomy of the world, I muſt lay out of my money above three thouſand pounds a year. If I give three thouſand pounds for the regiment, I ſhall find myſelf in ſix thouſand pounds of more debt at the end of the year, and the income of the regiment will hardly pay the intereſt of that money. So your Grace may judge of the ſituation I ſhall be in, unleſs his Majeſty thinks fit to aſſiſt me.

Your Grace may remember that I repreſented, before I came out, the inability I was in to undertake this ſervice; and that it was propoſed, to help me, that I ſhould be Lieutenant General on the eſtabliſhment, and that I ſhould have a regiment when there happened a vacancy.

Tis true, my Lord, I have an aſſignment of off-reckonings, which, when paid, will amount to two thouſand four hundred pounds, which I left in Mr. Sloper's hands as a fund to ſupport the expence I ſhould be obliged to make here. If his Majeſty will be pleaſed to give orders for defraying the neceſſary expence I muſt make in his ſervice, above my regular allowance, I am very well pleaſed this money

money be raiſed towards paying for the regiment; or, if his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to advance the three thouſand pounds, I ſhall be very well pleaſed to lay out the money that is in Mr. Sloper's hands, together with the pay of the regiment, for defraying my expence. But if I muſt lay out that money to buy the regiment, and run ſix thouſand pounds in debt, to ſupport the expence I muſt of neceſſity make here, I muſt be undone. GEORGE I. 1714.

If his Majeſty thinks fit to advance the three thouſand pounds for the regiment, I am very willing that my pay as Lieutenant General for this year be returned, to reimburſe his Majeſty a part of that ſum; and in caſe his Majeſty ſhall think I can ſubſiſt longer without that pay, I ſhall be willing it be applied to the payment of the money advanced till the whole be repayed.

I beg pardon for entering into all this tedious diſagreeable detail. I ſubmit the whole matter to your Grace, to repreſent the matter to his Majeſty, in whole or in part, as you ſhall think moſt proper, to know his Majeſty's pleaſure upon it. As to myſelf, I put myſelf entirely into your Grace's hands, to determine abſolutely as you think beſt. I ſhall be ſatisfied with whatever you do.

GEORGE I. 1715.

Extracts from Lord Stair's Journal at Paris in 1715, *and* 1716 *.

WEDNESDAY, January the 23d, at night, arrived at Paris; ſaw nobody that night but Mr. Law.

Friday 25th. Waited on Mr. de Torcy with Mr. Prior; he received me very civilly, but I thought coldly. Tueſday was appointed for my ſeeing the King. Dined with Monſieur de Torcy; after dinner walked a little in the gardens of Verſailles. We talked of the peace †; Prior could ſay little in the defence of it; ſaid plainly that he thought fifteen *per Cent.* had ſtill been granted us on the Spaniſh trade. Told me the ſtory of Lord Peterborough; how, in place of hearing the Queen's death from the courier near Calais, he knew it at Paris, and afterwards went and had audience of the French King, and immediately took poſt for England. Mr. Prior ſeemed altogether unknowing as to the affair of Mardyke; never to have had any inſtructions about the canal whilſt it was making; and to have concerned himſelf no farther about it ſince the giving the memorials he had been appointed to give, without having heard one word of it ſince his giving in the laſt.

February 1ſt. Received a meſſenger with orders from the King for Mr. Prior to deliver his papers, and me to receive them, to be tranſmitted into England. I went to Prior, who ſhewed me the journal taken of his letters; they were booked; he put the books into my hands; had a good deal of pain to let them go; however, I carried them off. He came to me in the afternoon, and ſhewed me with how much freedom he had writ, and how unfit it was that ſuch

* The Earl of Stair went firſt in an inferior character, but was appointed Ambaſſador to the French Court, ſoon after the death of Louis XIV.

† Of Utrecht.

things

things ſhould be ſeen; and that there were many letters relating to his own private buſineſs. Propoſed I ſhould copy what I thought fit here; and that it ſhould be done at the ſight of the Secretary of State in England; he keeping the books. I promiſed to write. GEORGE I. 1715.

* * * * * * *

July. In the beginning of this month, we had all the ſtories of the King's diſpleaſure againſt Lord Stair, and how ill they made their Court that ſaw him. That having made a good deal of noiſe, to give a turn to it, or, may be, to hinder Lord Stair to make any reflection as to the cauſe, Mr. de Villeroy contrived a party when they were to dine together, which they did.

Tueſday 9th. At the Muette, at Monſieur d'Armenonville's *, where there was the Marechal Tallard and Monſieur d'Alegre. After dinner, Lord Stair had a conference with the Marechal. When he complained of the uſage he met with, the Marechal denied the fact, that the King had ſpoken in the manner it was ſaid about Paris; aſſured him he ſhould ſee that every body would be extremely civil to him, and that the Court was reſolved to keep great meaſures with the Court of Britain; that I might depend upon it, that they would not aſſiſt the Pretender directly or indirectly; that there was no ſuch thing as any intention to camp any troops at Dunkirk, or to work there. He ſpoke with ſo much the air of ſincerity that I believed him. He begged I would ſee Monſieur de Torcy on Thurſday; and aſſured me, that I would find him diſpoſed to ſoften things ſo, that we ſhould have reaſon to be better ſatisfied with him.

Tueſday 11th. I went to Monſieur Torcy's, at the Marechal's deſire, reſolved to put what I had to ſay, as to Majorca, in writing, by way of memorial, that I might have no occaſion to quarrel with Torcy. It did not avail. I had the moſt unaccountable diſpute with him, when he uſed me like a dog, without any provocation.

* Keeper of the Seals.

GEORGE I. 1715. [Here follows the account of that remarkable converſation in Lord Stair's own hand. He never ſaw that Miniſter afterwards.]

Relation d'une converſation qu' avoit Monſieur le Comte de Stair, avec Monſieur de Torcy. A Paris le 11th de Juillet 1715.

My Lord Stair etant allé chez Monſieur le Marquis de Torcy luy dit, que ſon deſſein etoit de luy porter un memoire, mais, comme il n'etoit pas copié au net, il auroit l'honneur de l'envoier l'apres diné.

Monſieur de Torcy ayant demandé de quoy le Memoire traitoit, my Lord Stair repondit, qu'il etoit touchant l'affaire de Majorque *, & luy dit, en peu de mots, le contenu. La deſſus Monſieur le Marquis de Torcy prit occaſion de paſſer par tous les pas qu'avoient eté faits dans cette negociation. A la fin my Lord Stair dit, qu'etant convenu d'une ſuſpenſion d'armes, on croioit en Angleterre, que la bonne foy demandoit, qu'avant que de recommencer les hoſtilités, on eut averti que le Traité etoit rompu; et demanda à Monſieur le Marquis de la Torcy, s'il ne croioit pas de meme? Monſieur de Torcy ayant repondu que non, my Lord Stair repliqua, Cela etant, Monſieur, il faut bien que l'ideé que vous avez de la bonne foy, ſoit tout differente de celle que nous avons. Voila les paroles preciſes, que my Lord Stair a dit.

La deſſus, Monſieur Torcy ſe mit dans une colere extraordinaire, et repetant pluſieurs fois les paroles de *bonne foy*, et, ecumant à la bouche, dit, Ce n'eſt pas icy qu'il faut parler de la bonne foy. Notre bonne foy eſt reconnue par tout; c'eſt bien à vous de parler de bonne foy, qui venez icy nous tromper, par des negociations feintes; je vous apprendrai, que ce n'eſt pas icy qu'il faut venir m'inſulter; et, ouvrant la porte, dit, Sortez Monſieur.

My Lord Stair dit, s'approchant de la porte, Monſieur, vous oubliez ce que vous etes, et ce que je ſuis. Par pluſieurs raiſons, je ne m'at-

* The Emperor and Spain continued the war, after the treaty of Utrecht; and Majorca was then in poſſeſſion of the Imperialiſts.

tendois pas à un pareil traitement ; mais je m'apperçois bien, que ce que j'ay oui dire eſt vrai, que vous eſtes d'opinion, qu'il ne faut pas garder de meſures avec L'Emperor, ni avec le roy mon maitre, qui pourtant ſont des Princes aſſez conſiderables en Europe. GEORGE I. 1715.

Monſieur, dit Monſieur de Torcy à my Lord Stair, deja ſorti de la porte, je vous apprendray qu'on ne m'inſulte pas, et qu'on ne me parle pas de bonne foy. Monſieur, luy dit my Lord Stair, je vois que vous etez en colere, mais je ne ſcais pas vous avoir donné lieu de vous facher. Je me ſuis plaint, que l'Eſpagne recommençoit les hoſtilités, pendant le cours d'un traité, ou on etoit convenu d'une ceſſation d'armes. J'ai dit que celà ne convenoit pas à l'ideé que j'avois de la bonne foy. Je n'ai pas parlé de vous, ni ſçu que vous etiez auteur de ce conſeil ; je croiois que la France n'y avoit nulle part.

Alors Monſieur de Torcy parut ſe radoucir un peu. My Lord Stair rentra dans le cabinet, et repeta les paroles qui avoient cauſé la colere de Monſieur de Torcy. Il convint, qu'il les repeta juſtes, & tomba d'accord, qu'il n'avoit pas lieu de s'en offenſer. My Lord Stair dit, qu'il avoit trop de reſpect pour le roy ſon maitre, pour dire des paroles injurieuſes ou impolies à ſon Miniſtre.

Lord Stair ſe plaignit, en ſuite, du traitement que Monſieur de Torcy luy avoit fait, et luy dit, qu'il voioit, par la diſpoſition que lui Monſieur de Torcy avoit, de s'emporter contre luy, que ceux qui avoient averti my Lord Stair, que lui Marquis de Torcy avoit aigri l'eſprit du Roy contre luy, avoient dit la verité ; qu'il ſe doutoit bien, par pluſieurs choſes, que luy, Marquis de Torcy, etoit d'opinion, qu'il ne falloit pas garder des meſures avec l'Empereur, ni avec le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, qui avoient, pourtant, fait voir, qu'ils etoient, l'un et l'autre, des Princes fort conſiderables en Europe ; et que le temps pourroit venir, que le Roy reconnoitroit, que ceux qui luy donnoient de tels conſeils, ſe laiſſoient conduire par leurs paſſions, plus que par l'intereſt de leur maitre ; et que le Marquis de Torcy pourroit fort bien ſe repentir de brouiller le Roy ſon

GEORGE I. 1715. maitre, avec ſes voiſins les plus conſiderables, qui ne demandoient pas mieux que de vivre en paix, et en amitié avec luy." *

Friday 12*th.* I gave an account of what had happened, in a relation incloſed in a letter to the Marechal de Villeroy.

I wrote this night a long letter to Mr. Secretary, by Mr. Rawworth, who went into England by Diepe. I gave him an account of what had paſſed between Monſieur Torcy and me, and of the ſtate of affairs here; and that I thought they now cooled in the deſign they had to aſſiſt the Pretender.

Sunday 14*th.* Gordon, the meſſenger, being arrived from London, with Mr. Stanhope's letter of the 27th of June, O. S. with aſſurance that the ſecret had been inviolably kept there; I ſhewed the letter to —— † in whom I have of late obſerved a good deal of coldneſs. I gave him at the ſame time, an account of what had happened between Monſieur de Torcy and Lord Stair; at which he ſeemed ſurprized and vexed.

Wedneſday 17*th.* I had an account by —— that the Court put Torcy intirely in the right, and that their reſentment was carried higher and higher againſt me; ſo far that the Marechal adviſed Monſieur Torcy to be cautious how he ſaw me, nor often. That made me begin to take a little more notice of the report I found ſtill continuing, of the Pretender's going into Britain.

Monday 22*d.* I hear more and more of the Pretender's deſign. I was reſolving to ſend into Lorrain when I received Mr. Secretary's letter of the 20th by Turner the meſſenger, by which it appears they are much alarmed in England with the Pretender's intention to land immediately. He recommends to me, to ſave no pains nor expence to be well informed.

Wedneſday 24*th.* I ſent Barton into Lorrain, to be informed of the

* The Editor has not tranſlated the papers writ in French; taking it for granted, that this work will meet with few readers, to whom that language is not familiar.

† There are ſeveral blanks and initials in the journal, which, as it was kept by Lord Stair, only for his own uſe, cannot be decyphered by any one elſe.

Pretender's

GEORGE I. 1715.

Pretender's motions. I met the Abbé du Bois in a wood, and gave him an account of the intelligence I had concerning the deſign, which he ſeemed poſitively not to believe. I told him, that we expected from his maſter*, only juſtice in the affair of Mardyke; and that, for the reſt, we were ready to concert meaſures with him for ſecuring him the regency, and, in caſe of other accidents, the crown. I deſired he would be particularly careful in informing himſelf concerning the Pretender's deſigns, and how far the Court meddled with him. I did not think, in all this matter, the Abbé acted with all that frankneſs I might have expected from him. I ſet a man to obſerve Lord Bolingbroke.

That night I diſpatched Barton with a letter in cypher, of which I kept a copy. I had ſent for Mr. H. † yeſterday, who came to me this afternoon, after he had been with Monſieur Torcy in the morning, which he denied. He made me give him a letter to ſhew; which I did, though doubtful of his ſincerity. He deſires to have a regiment in the ſervice of Hanover, promiſed to do his part to diſcover what was doing for the pretender.

Friday 26th. In the morning I ſaw the Marechal de Villeroy with whom I had a long conference concerning Torcy's quarrel. I put him upon the ſtory of the Pretender; he aſſured me the Court would not aſſiſt him; particularly that they were not to work at Mardyke; that Le Blanc had got no money for that purpoſe; that there would be no body of troops camped there; was extremely civil and obliging; ſaid nothing towards accommodating the affair with Torcy. I told him I had forborn till Sunday laſt to give an account of it. Diſpatched Wilcox, who arrived from Spain on Thurſday. I ſaw the Abbé to-day, who gave me an account that the Duke of Orleans had received mighty kindly what I had ſaid from the King; that he

* Duke of Orleans.

† Who is this Mr. H.? Can it poſſibly be Hooke?—A ſubſequent article in this journal, at Tueſday, Auguſt 6th, has Mr. Hooke's name at full length, and fully proves that he had a connection with Lord Stair.

would

GEORGE I. 1715. would take the firſt opportunity to ſee me, to tell me himſelf that he perfectly agreed to what was deſired. The Abbé told me, the Duke knew nothing of the Pretender's deſign, and did not believe it. I have not liked the Abbé's way a good while.

Saturday 27th. I talked to D—— of his going into Lorrain, and put him upon ſpeaking to the Duke of Orleans, of the Pretender's deſign, as of himſelf, and to talk of his going into Lorrain to ſee what was a doing. Saladin * told me the ſtory of Bolingbroke's amour with Madam Tencin †, and his meeting the Pretender upon the road.

Sunday 28th. D—— came to town, told me the Duke of Orleans had adviſed, if he went to Lorrain, to ſay nothing to the D——, who was engaged in the Pretender's deſign, which would appear in leſs than a fortnight; that he was certainly to go, but would not ſucceed. Of this I gave an account this very night by Turner, but kept no copy of my letter, nor of that by Mr. Leore. I had reaſons ‡ for ſo doing.

Monday 29th. This day the B—— owned to Mr. Saladin, that the Pretender was to go into Britain; they calculate having the people all over the iſland for them.

B——— came back from Bar. The Pretender is ſtill there with the Queen ‖; every thing quiet, and few people there. They talk of his going to Britain; when his mother comes back, he will probably ſet out. Mr. Burit told me his letters from Spain ſay, the Spaniſh fleet with the troops is gone to the Groyne, which gives a colour for my ſuſpicion of the embarkation being deſigned againſt us, which indeed is improbable; but, without force, the Pretender's expedition appears quite chimerical.

* He was a Genevois, and employed on public affairs by ſome of the Swiſs Cantons; a great intriguer.

† Madam Tencin, ſiſter to the famous Cardinal Tencin; ſhe was as famous in her way, and lived to a great age.

‡ They muſt have been of a ſingular kind.

‖ His mother.

Tueſday

GEORGE I. 1715.

Tueſday 30*th*. I ſaw Saladin, who tells me that an Abbé, who has been ſeveral times in England for their affairs, ſays the Queen-mother is againſt the Pretender's going without troops. He himſelf is very cool, and the party very preſſing. Lord Bolingbroke ſaw him twice.

Ambaſſador of Sicily was here at night. In the Tuileries met with Sobere the Genoeſe; he apprehends the Spaniſh fleet have a deſign upon Final, to be given to the Duke of Savoy, to help forward his accommodation with the Emperor and that of the King of Spain, which France deſires.

Wedneſday 31*ſt*. I ſaw Bernard *, who told me this Court certainly gave not, and were not in a condition to give, a penny to the Pretender; that, if they did, it muſt paſs through his hands. He told me, the Council would refuſe Law's project, there being no foundation for the bank he propoſes, in a country where every thing depends on the King's pleaſure.

I met Remond, who told me, that Torcy "fremit à mon nom, et qu'il ne me pardonne pas d'avoir eté ſi calme, quand il s'emportoit tant." I ſupped at Bernard's.

Auguſt 1*ſt*, *Thurſday*. The diminution of the ſpecie does not take place, by an edict come out to-day. There ſeems to be a ſtop in the Pretender's going, by the diſcourſe of his friends. I ſent the Doctor's man to obſerve the Duke of Berwick, who went out of town yeſterday. At the Tuileries the news was, that the Pretender was gone or juſt going; that there were riſings in England, and a formed rebellion in the Highlands of Scotland; and that Lord Oxford was in the Tower. Lord Bolingbroke had received great packets by a courier come from England.

Though news came from England, I received no letters from the office. Cathcart tells me Barton was arrived from me. Lord Ox-

* Probably the famous banker at Paris.

ford

GEORGE I. 1715. ford is in the Tower; great diſorders in Staffordſhire; the Commons paſſed the bill againſt riots; addreſs the King in a very warm manner, taking hold of Lord Angleſea's words. Monſ. d'Aberville's complaints againſt me; but the King and the Court ſatisfied with my behaviour.

The Abbé Dubois came to me this morning *incognito*; he ſeemed to know nothing of the Pretender's deſign, and would juſtify the intentions of this Court. I aſked him coldly, if he had ſeen the Duke of Orleans; and told him, I would not aſk him to tell me any thing he thought proper to keep ſecret. He was to go to Marli, and give me an account of what he had learned at his return.

I had news from Clermont, that the Duke of Berwick's people are perſuaded that the Pretender is to go into England immediately, and the Duke is to be of the party; his clothes and things are packed for a journey. He receives expreſſes every day from Marli and from Bar. Some days ago there was a perſon there whom the ſervants note to be one of the late Queen's chief miniſters.

Saturday 3d. Another account from Clermont; theſe people ſtill expect to go. Gordon has in a manner promiſed to get me the Pretender's declaration. Lord B—— * and Lord H——n ridicule the report of his going, as contrived by the miniſters; they ſend Savage here for intelligence.

—— dined with me; he ſays Lord Bolingbroke brags he will make the government repent their letting him come into France, for that he will do them more miſchief than they are aware of; that the party increaſes every day, and will ſoon get the better of the Whigs; makes terrible reflections upon the Pr—— †, and ſpeaks with contempt of the King. He declares he has nothing to manage, and that he will keep no meaſures. He complains much of me, and triumphs in the ill treatment I meet with here.

* Probably Lord Bolingbroke. † So in the manuſcript.

I find

I find he has ſpies that come to pick up every word I ſay in my houſe. GEORGE I. 1715.

Sunday 4th. This morning at four, Gordon the meſſenger arrived with Mr. Secretary's letter of the 20th Old Stile, with an account that the King had that day been to the Houſe of Lords to paſs the riot bill; that, upon that occaſion, he had given an account to the Parliament of the Pretender's deſign to invade the kingdom; and therefore deſires their aſſiſtance to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence againſt the rebellion. Tumults raiſed within, and the invaſion threatened abroad. This produced the ſame day addreſſes from both houſes in moſt warm and hearty terms, promiſing to ſtand by his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes; and the Commons deſiring his Majeſty to augment his land-forces, and the number of ſhips at ſea for the defence of the kingdom. They had, that morning, received my letter by Turner, writ on the 28th, giving an account that the Pretender's project was formed, and that it was to appear in a fortnight from D.'s converſation with the Duke of Orleans.

Monday 5th. This morning there was a letter from D—— to his wife; that he has paſſed at Bar, where there ſeemed to be no immediate deſign of ſtirring, but expectation of news from Britain. He left it on Friday to repair that way in four or five days.

Tueſday 6th. I have no news of the Abbé, which makes me think the Duke of Orleans is willing to let the affair of the Pretender take its train without meddling with it; and indeed the Abbé's proceeding of late has been what I have not liked.

To night we had the news that the Pretender had actually gone from Bar on Saturday laſt. The whole town ſeemed to believe it; it came from a ſecretary of the Duke de Bourbon's. All the Jacobites ſeem to believe it, and there is a great motion amongſt them.

Villars, whom I met in the Thuilleries, aſſured me, that the Pretender would not embark, if he went, at any of the ports in France.

GEORGE I. 1715. Hooke is gone back to Verſailles without ſeeing me, after having been again with Torcy on Thurſday laſt.

Wedneſday 7th. The news of the Pretender's being gone continued in the morning. The Jacobites ſeem perſuaded of it. Ogilvy promiſed Mr. Crawford the declaration; at night he refuſed to give it; and they ſeem down and diſcontented.

This morning at four o'clock, I had a meſſenger with a letter from Mr. Stanhope of the 24th. They are uneaſy to have had no letter from me ſince mine of the 28th, by Turner; gives me an account of the raiſing of thirteen regiments of dragoons and eight of foot, and of Duke Ormond's going off. Impatient to know what is become of him.

Thurſday 8th. This morning I had the news that the Duke of Ormond came to town laſt night. Lord Bolingbroke has yielded Laſſy's houſe to him. I went to ſee Heraclius *; a play they had put upon the ſtage, upon the occaſion of the Pretender's going. They made ſome railleries upon the play and alluſions. I told them coldly, I ſuppoſed it had not been contrived to entertain the Duke of Ormond. Villars and his Lady were there. Duke of Ormond dined to-day with Torcy.

Friday 9th. His Grace of Ormond dined with the Duke d'Aumont, who carried him to the Opera. Lord Bolingbroke and he ſupped with Lord Galmoy. His Grace has declared he intends to take no notice of me.

Saturday 10th. I wrote by the poſt to give Mr. Secretary an account of the Duke of Ormond's arrival and his behaviour here, and that the ſpirits of the Jacobites ſeemed to be quite down.

Sunday 11th. I went to the Tuileries, met Mr. Villeroy, who ſeemed mortified. Met the Duke of Bourbon, who told me the Duke of Orleans told him he was to talk to me on Tueſday. He

* A famous play of Corneille, where a real prince and an uſurper are brought on the ſtage.

goes into the country for ten days. He told me the King fails a-pace; his ſtomach is quite gone. GEORGE I. 1715.

They ſeem now fond of having ſomething ſettled with the Duke of Orleans, now they ſee we have got the better of the oppoſition in England.

The Marechal de Villeroy, by Saladin, adviſed me yeſterday to ſee the King, with the aſſurance that I ſhould be well received.

At night D—— * arrived. He left Bar on Friday in the evening. He tells me they ſeemed apprehenſive he had ſome deſign upon the Chevalier's perſon; that they had appeared diffident of him; but that they ſhewed him the news from England, the votes of the 26th, owning that their hopes were at an end. There was but five or ſix people with him. He aſked for the young people; was anſwered, they were all gone to their regiments. Howard told him they believed Lord Bolingbroke had not ſeen the Chevalier; but that he was in correſpondence with Higgins.

Higgins ſeemed much to liſten to D.'s diſcourſe, of giving the Chevalier a penſion to live at Rome, and wanted to know if he ſpoke by conſultation.

Monday 12th. Ogilvy again promiſed Mr. Crawford the declaration. They do not deny the deſign of the invaſion, but ſeem to have loſt all their hopes. Went to Verſailles at night with *Huſke*†; ſaw the King ſup. He looked mighty ill, came late into the room with great pain, ſupported upon a ſtick.

Saw the Marechal de Villeroy at ſupper. He was mighty civil to me, and took notice of my good humour; that evening Baron Kniphauſen told me, there had been one of Torcy's people with him, very inquiſitive if I was not to aſk an audience of the King. Torcy ſeems to apprehend it much. I did not anſwer his queſtion.

* One of Lord Stair's ſpies, mentioned above.

† Afterwards General Huſke. He was Lord Cadogan's Aid-de-camp in Flanders and Scotland, and ſerved during the war of 1744.

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Tueſday 13th. I came too late for the King's levee, having ſtaid making notes of what I intended to ſay to the King. He was carried to church, and looked very ill.

I aſked to ſpeak to the King by the Baron de Bretueil *. I was told it could only be by Torcy. The Marechal told me ſo afterwards; but that there was need of doing no more than aſking the audience by Torcy, without telling him what I was to ſay. I told the Marechal, that in the way Torcy had uſed me, I deſired to have no communication with him, till he had thought fit to ſhew that he was ſorry for what he had ſaid to me; but if I muſt needs undertake that mortification, when the King my maſter's ſervice required I ſhould ſpeak to the King, I would paſs over my reſentments; but that, at the ſame time, I muſt look upon it as a hardſhip put upon me. The Marechal adviſed me to ſee Torcy, and aſſured me that I ſhould be well received. I ſaw the King dine, who looked exceedingly ill; ſpoke with a broken voice; and could not eat. He ſeemed uneaſy to ſee me at the table. The courtiers looked hideouſly upon me. I went to dine with the Marechal De Villeroy, who aſked me, after dinner, if I had not ſeen Torcy. I told him my buſineſs with the King was not ſo very preſſing, but that I could delay it; and till I had ſomething very preſſing I would not go to Torcy, till he had done me ſome civility, upon what had paſſed between him and me. I told him I had ſhown, may be, too much facility in having this matter accommodated; but that if it went further, I ſhould be obliged to put it upon another foot; and then, may be, it would not be ſo eaſy to be taken away. The Marechal uſed many arguments to induce me to go to Torcy, but I was firm.

I told the Marechal, that as long as they kept the Pretender in Lorrain, indeed in France, for Bar is a fief of France, as long as

* Introductor of ambaſſadors.

there

there was that intimacy between the declared enemies of our King and his government, as there was between the moſt Chriſtian King's miniſters and thoſe gentlemen lately come from England, it was to no purpoſe to think of cultivating a correſpondence betwixt the two nations. GEORGE I. 1715.

Marquis d'Alegre followed me from the Marechal's. I told him what had paſſed, and my reſolution; he expreſſed great inclination to have the thing done away, and went back to the Marechal to concert ſome expedient.

I went from thence to the Duke of Orleans, with whom I had a long conference. He told me the ſtate of the King's health, and his hopes; the trick Torcy had played him with the King, and his conference with the King and with Torcy upon the ſubject.

He owned he knew of the Pretender's deſign, and that the King had been much preſſed to aſſiſt him, but had refuſed; that, however, the Pretender had reſolved to try his fortune; and his deſign had been juſt upon the point of being put in execution; but that his hopes were now fallen, and the deſign quite given over.

I took notice that he, nor none for him, had ever given us the leaſt notice of that deſign; and complained of the coldneſs I had found in the Abbé, which, I reckoned, proceeded from his thinking that it was not fit for the Duke of Orleans to meddle in the matter. He ſaid, ſince he ſaw the Pretender was to do that matter by himſelf, it was not worth his while to take notice of the deſign, ſince he was well aſſured it would come to nothing; that if he had ſeen France ready to aſſiſt him, he would certainly have given me notice. The excuſe is a bad one, but I received it.

Then I told him how firmly the King was reſolved to ſupport his intereſt, deſiring only juſtice in the affair of the canal. He made me repeat what we deſired, which was the demoliſhing the ſluices, and a poſitive engagement there never ſhould be any port there, or within thoſe banks which made the road; which he, upon his

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his honour, engaged to oblige himſelf to in form, as ſoon as he ſhould be in a condition to perform what we aſked. I came to Paris that night.

Wedneſday 14*th*. By all was ſaid to me yeſterday by the Marechal, and by the Duke of Orleans, I was much confirmed in my apprehenſions concerning their ways of being informed of what I did. —— Wrote this afternoon to England, a long private letter, with the detail of every thing here, of which I kept no copy.

Friday 16*th*. The King's illneſs ſtill continues, though every morning they tell us he is better. He is carried in the afternoon to Madame Maintenon's, where there is muſick; but he has great pains in his thigh and legs; drinks much in the night, and does not ſleep. They have ſent for the waters of Bourbon.

Monday 19*th*. I went to Verſailles, where I ſaw the King ſup. He looked better than I could have expected. I was told the freſhneſs of his colour came from his inward heat. He eat little; and was wheeled out in his chair. It is declared that the King does not go to Fontainbleau.

Tueſday 20*th*. The King paſſed the night very ill; lay a-bed all day; they are reſolved to give him the Jeſuits bark.

The review, which the King was to have made of the gendarmerie from his balcony, put off to Marli, where the Duke de* Maine is to review them to-morrow. That ſurpriſes a good many people. The report is whiſpered about ſtrongly, as if Madame Maintenon was labouring hard, to be declared Queen, and regent; Duke of Orleans friends alarmed.

Thurſday 22*d*. Duke of Orleans went to the review at Marli, where the D†. was. He ſaluted the D. at the head of his two companies. Duke of Maine and the ‡ Ch—— only paſſed them in ſquadron, and went away ſeeming much diſconcerted. There

* The King's favourite ſon, by Madame Monteſpan.

† I think this means the Dauphin.

‡ So in MS.

was

was a great conſultation of phyſicians, when it was reſolved to try to ſtop the fever by the bark; to give the King aſſes milk, and whey; to drink no wine, no meat, nor ſweetmeats.

Friday 23d. The Abbé then ſent to meet me in the Tuileries. He ſeems not alarmed at any deſigns upon the Duke of Orleans; thinks his party ſo ſtrong, that nothing can be attempted to his prejudice. I warned him of what was talked. He took notice of what I had ſaid to the Duke of Orleans, of his coldneſs. I owned it, and told him that the Duke had owned to me, he knew of the Chevalier's deſign, and that I thought it ſtrange he had ſaid nothing to me on that ſubject, though I had earneſtly deſired it. I told him that was only a little obſervation of mine, which made no alteration in the King's good intentions and firm reſolution to ſupport the Duke of Orleans.

Sunday 25th. This morning at ſeven, Dean that was Aid Major to Duke of Berwick's regiment, who had offered his ſervice before, was with me. He told me the Pretender was to have parted from Bar the 25th of laſt month, with only about twenty people, the Duke of Berwick, his ſon, the two Middletons, M'Donald, Lieutenant General Dorrington, Cook, Rooth, &c. to have embarked at Vieuville in Normandy; that Camock was to have commanded the ſhips; that they had bought arms in Flanders, in parcels that had been carried thither; that many other officers were to have gone in parcels from other places; that when the deſign had been in a fair way to ſucceed, and the riſing great, then the King of France was to have aſſiſted him.

That the firſt deſign was to have landed in England; but that, afterwards, the Duke of Ormond had adviſed, it might be in Scotland; that a prieſt, one Colen, had come over from him with that meſſage.

That he had heard ſeveral of the Iriſh general officers ſay, the Duke was in their intereſt from the time of his commanding the army

GEORGE I. 1717. army in Flanders; that now the people that go and come from Bar, go ſtreight to him; that M'Donald came thence a few days ago, and came ſtreight to the Duke, and that after his arrival, his Grace had diſpatched Bagnal thither; that they do not yet ſeem to have laid aſide their deſign, but only to have delayed it for two months; and that they are now very buſy in concerting meaſures.

He promiſes to give me a faithful account of what is doing at the Duke of Ormond's, of who goes backwards and forwards from Bar, and what is become of the ſhips with arms that were in the Seine. I gave him twenty pounds, and he engages to give me good intelligence of whatever paſſes.

Sunday 25th. This evening we had an account, that the gangrene had diſcovered itſelf plainly in the King's leg, and that there was no longer any hopes left of his recovery. He has confeſſed, and taken the Sacrament laſt night; and this evening every body reckoned him in the agonies of death. I diſpatched Maiden to England, with this account.

Monday 26th. This afternoon I went to Verſailles. In the morning we had a report at Paris, that the King was dead, having received the extreme unction the night before at eleven o'clock.

We found the court all in tears; the Duke of Orleans told me, that the King had obſerved his treaties; that there was no thoughts of the King of Spain; that he was to have the regency; but that he believed there were ſome conditions in the will to hamper him by a council of regency, and a *Tutele*, that was to have the command of the troops; but he ſaid, he was little in pain about that, being ſure of the Parliament and the troops. I told him I was then to offer him, in the King's name, whatever aſſiſtance he ſhould want, to make good his right to the regency, in excluſion of the King of Spain. He deſired me to give the King his moſt hearty thanks, and to aſſure him that, as ſoon as ever he was in poſſeſſion of the regency, he would make good what he had promiſed with relation

to

to Mardyke. He told me that he founded Buys *, upon what he would have done, as the States ambaſſador, if there had been any intentions in favour of the King of Spain. I told him, I knew that Buys would have waited for orders; but that I would frankly have declared, that the King would look upon the giving the regency to Philip, as a fraction of the treaty.

Marechal Villeroy was declared governor to the Dauphin; the Duke of Maine ſuperintendant of his education; and the Princeſs of Conti to have the inſpection with Madame de Ventadour; the Biſhop of Frejus, his preceptor; and the Pere le Tellier ſubpreceptor, and to be his confeſſor.

We walked in the garden, Baron Kniphauſen † and I, when we met Marechal Villeroy, who gave us an account of all the King had ſaid to the Dauphin; exhorting him to live in peace with his neighbours; to keep his treaties; and avoid war, in which he had delighted too much. The advice he had given to the Princes was, to live in good underſtanding together; to the great men, to ſerve the young King faithfully, for the love they bore to him, and for all the good he had done them; and many other things, which ſhewed his courage and reſolution in meeting death, and his care for the welfare of grandchild and kingdom, and his good underſtanding.

That night every body expected, that the King would be dead before morning.

Tueſday 27th. The King was a little better in the morning, but was worſe in the afternoon; the gangrene did not riſe higher. They had ſent for a ſurgeon from Amiens, that had a famous receipt for the gangrene; he ſent his receipt in the evening, which they would not uſe, no more than they would conſult the Count d'Oſſune's phyſician.

* The Dutch Ambaſſador. † Probably the Miniſter from Pruſſia.

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I had an audience of the Duke of Orleans in the afternoon, when I deſired to know if there was any thing he would have me to do for his ſervice. I gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the King's firm friendſhip to him, and his readineſs to uſe all the power of his kingdom to ſerve him. He made a moſt obliging return, and the ſtrongeſt profeſſion of firm attachment to the King and his intereſt. He renewed his promiſes as to Dunkirk. I told him that the true way to eſtabliſh a perfect good correſpondence between the two nations, and with the King, was to ſend the Pretender out of Lorrain, and his adherents, naming Ormond and Bolingbroke, out of France; which he heard very well. He talked of ſetting a treaty of commerce upon a reaſonable fair foot for both nations.

Il me dit, que Torcy n'avoit pas encore mis le pied chez luy; mais, il m'en vangeroit bientot. Je luy dis, que de la maniere que Monſieur de Torcy avoit agi avec luy, il ne ſeroit pas etonant, qu'il ne s'en feroit pas; et que je ne croiois pas qu'il regleroit ſon adminiſtration par les maximes de Monſieur de Torcy, et qu' effectivement, il ne ſeroit pas un bon moyen d'etablir la bonne correſpondence entre les deux nations, que d'employer un miniſtre qui avoit tant travaillé a les brouiller, et d'aſſiſter le Pretendant.

Il me dit, qu'il n'etoit pas encore inſtruit du contenu du teſtament, mais que certainement il n'y avoit pas queſtion du roy d'Eſpagne.

Il me parla tres cordialment de l'amitié qu'il avoit pour le Roy; et me marqua, dans les termes du monde les plus obligeans, ſon eſtime, et ſon amitié pour moy.

Je reſtay la nuit à Verſailles, dans la confiance que cela auroit fini cet nuit; mais point du tout. Le lendemain matin, il ſe trouvoit a-peu-pres, dans le meme etat.

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Un homme de Merſeilles porta un elixir qu'il vantoit comme un remede admirable. A la fin, on reſolut de le donner au Roy. Il en prit à une heure *. Je vis Monſieur le D. d'Orleans le matin, qui m'aſſura, que tout alloit bien, et qu'il n'y auroit aucun deſordre.

Barton me porta les lettres de Monſieur Stanhope du 12*me*. Notre cour paroit fort alarmé touchant la Regence, laquelle on eſt perſuadé eſt deſtiné pour Philip. Du reſte, Monſieur Stanhope marque aſſez clairement que la confiance que j'avois marqué que le deſſein du Pretendant etoit fruſtré, ne leur plaiſoit pas. Ils paroiſſoient plus alarmés que jamais en Angleterre, et perſuadés que le Pretendant peut paſſer au premier jour. Il m'a prié de bien veiller ſur ſes mouvemens.

Wedneſday, Sept. 4th. I went to Verſailles, where I ſaw the Duke of Orleans; read my letter to him of the 1ſt, with the aſſurances of the King's friendſhip.

He gave great aſſurances of his obſerving the treaty, and doing juſtice as to Mardyke, according to his promiſe. He anſwering nothing poſitive as to the Pretender, and Duke of Ormond, or Bolingbroke, in the manner the Abbé had ſpoken to me before; this makes me imagine, they intend ſtill to keep that game going.

I ſpoke to him of the will, and ſhewed him how much his intereſt had been connected with the King's; that, if the Pretender had been upon the throne, as the late King intended, the will had probably taken effect; and that view had made Monſieur Torcy ſo fond of having the Pretender's enterprize take effect. I touched the affair of Sweden to him, and deſired him to have an eye to that matter in looking over the paper of negociations. I ſpoke to him of Dr. L——, and Gaynepain, that are in the Baſtile. He deſired I would keep the memorial till the Councils were ſettled that were to look after the detail of particular affairs.

* On Wedneſday the 28th. The King died two days after, on the 1ſt of September.

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Villars, who had been in his cabinet, came out, and told us his Highneſs had confirmed his being of the Council of Regency. He affected to look pleaſed, but was plainly otherwiſe.

Tueſday, October 1ſt. I met D—— at the Tuileries. He told me that one Lachlane was gone to Bar, who paſſed through Cambray with letters from Scotland, and that he came by the way of Holland. He told me, that laſt night there was arrived a man diſpatched from England with letters, who came over as a ſervant to a French gentleman. That the party was mightily up; that they depended upon ſucceeding in England; and that the Regent would be favourable to them; that the Pretender had all his things given back to him, his plate and equipage, that was in the Scotch ſhips that were unloaded in the night; and that the powder and ammunition were ſecured for his uſe.

Lord T——'s man was with me at night; told me that the D——'s * project was to go into England, as ſoon as he heard the rebellion was formed, to land in Wales or in the Severn; that Bolingbroke and he were to go by Bourdeaux, or by ſome place on the weſt coaſt of France, where there was no ſuſpicion; that both he and Bolingbroke had been with the Regent and well received; that the Pretender was not to go into Scotland or England, till the Tories had declared for him; that their firſt riſing was to be general, to ſeize the arms of the militia, to ſeize Briſtol, where they expected to find arms and ammunition, &c.

That they had writ into England to know whether he was a fit man to be employed; that they expected an anſwer by the firſt poſt, and therefore he had taken his reſolution to be gone.

Wedneſday 2d. I wrote into England by Maiden to Mr. Stanhope, to give him an account of the ſtate of affairs here, and of the plan of the Pretender's affairs; which was, to have a general riſing, declaring

* Probably the Duke of Ormond.

for

for the church againſt the Whigs, and a ſtanding army, without making mention of the Pretender or any King.

Thurſday 3d. I had audience of the Regent; gave him the Prince of Wales's letter; gave him thanks for ſeiſing the arms and ammunition at Havre, in the King's name, and for his refuſing to ſee Ormond and Bolingbroke, which was very agreeable to my Maſter, conſidering what their buſineſs was here. He looked very cool, and ſeemed to have a great mind to have a ſhort conference. I told him, that his Royal Highneſs was in the right the other day, when he told me the Pretender did not intend to part; that I had ſince diſcovered their deſign was not to pull off the maſk at firſt, but to act under the diſguiſe of the church; but that it was the ſame thing under what diſguiſe they went; that we were very well informed of their deſigns, and of the manner they intended to carry them on.

24th. J'ai a parler au Regent. Aſſurances de l'amitié du Roy; combien il eſt ſenſible au marques de l'amitié de S. A. R. données en dernier lieu, par les aſſurances de ne laiſſer ſortir ni le Pretendant, ni Ormond; S. A. n'auroit pas lieu de s'en repentir, et le Roy regardera ſes interets du meme que les ſiens propres.

Il m'a d'abord depeché le plein pouvoir par faire un Traité de Guarantie mutuelle pour les deux ſucceſſions, et pour aſſurer et maintenir la Regence à S. A. R. Comme ce traité peut etre le fondement de la tranquilité de deux royaumes et de tout l'Europe, le Roy nâ pas voulu perdre un moment de temps à le commencer; et à fin que rien ne le retarda, n'a pas voulu meler quelque choſe d'etranger, pas ſeulement l'affaire de Mardyke, qui eſt ſi importante à la nation, et laquelle il à tant a cœur. Ce fondement d'amitié et de confiance une fois poſé, il ſera facile d'y batir ce qui conviendra, dans la ſuite, aux interets communs de deux nations, et pour le repos de l'Europe. Demandez quand le Regent voudroit commencer à traiter.

Si Le Regent cherche des delais; nous voions qu'il faut finir la rebellion en Ecoſſe, avant que de conclure quelque choſe. S. A. R.

ſcait

GEORGE I. 1715. ſcait ce que convient à ſes interets, et à ceux de la France; nous ne le preſſerons pas, & prendrons notre parti, de finir nos affaires, et nous pouvons avoir patience.

December 1ſt. Dimanche. Campbell arriva le Matin, depeché de Londres le 28th N. S. avec la nouvelle, que les rebelles s'etoient rendus à diſcretion à Preſton Lundi paſſé. J'ay donné la lettre de Madame la Princeſſe de Galles à Madame *. J'ay tenté trois fois en vain de voir le Regent. S. A. R. n'a fait que paſſer au travers des appartemens de Madame la Ducheſſe d'Orleans, ſans s'arreter.

2*d*, *Lundi.* Je fus encore à la cour ſans voir le Regent. J'ay demandé de le voir; il etoit deſcendu en bas. Les Jacobites diſent nos nouvelles fauſſes. A la cour on eſt tout etonné; les plus ſages commencent à traiter le Chevalier de St. George du Pretendant. Il y a deux jours † qu'il etoit le Roy d'Angleterre par tout, et tout le monde avoit levé le maſque. Il n'y avoit plus un ſeul François, quaſi perſonne de la cour, qui mettoit le pied chez moy.

3*d*, *Mardi.* Je travaillois à une relation du depart du Duc d'Ormond et du Pretendant; et des choſes qui arriverent dans cette cour en ce temps la. Lord P— ‡, vint me trouver tout botté. Il me parla, trois heurs de ſuite, tres extravagamment, tres malcontent de la cour; et avec beaucoup du mepris pour le conduitte des rebelles.

Friday, January 23*d*, 1716. Peterborough allows, that I ſhall have occaſion to be jealous of this Court, if they delay giving an anſwer to my memorial, as I expect they intend to do.

Saturday, February 14*th.* Murray came and ſupped with me, gave me a long account of all his proceedings, ſpoke mighty ill of G. H. H——y and S——th; told me, it would appear one day, he had gone upon grounds, he had reaſon to think good, though they had not anſwered; and that he did not embark like a fool. He

* La Ducheſſe d'Orleans. † A true picture of Courts.
‡ Peterborough.

ſeems

ſeems to have no agreeable proſpect of the way he muſt be in, and yet thinks he muſt attach himſelf to the party. He was much in pain about his wife; was in pain leſt he ſhould be blamed for coming away too ſoon. It was the Chevalier's own opinion, ſupported ſtrongly by Sheridan. He ſtayed with me till two; he endeavoured to diſcover whether there had been any intelligence between me and Harry *. I told him plainly, that I had been very well informed of their deſigns, but not by him.

Monday 16*th.* No news of my memorial †. I have accounts that there are frequent meetings at Laſſey's, where the Iriſh general officers aſſiſt. They are making ſtates of all the boats and ſhips from Dieppe to Dunkirk. Hunnegur is employed in this matter. They are exceedingly buſy.

Tueſday 17*th.* I had another great conference with Peterborough, who is full of the ſincerity of the French, and of the great advantage of being well with them. He is upon the wing to go into England to promote this good deſign.

Monſieur de Barrois, the Envoy of Lorrain, brought me the Duke's anſwer to the King's letter, by which he tells him that he had ſent the Chevalier out of his dominions; and that he was actually gone, and had taken the road of France again.

March, Saturday 7*th.* I received by Gordon the meſſenger, Mr. Stanhope's letter of the 22d. O. S. with orders to give in a memorial for removal of the Pretender and his adherents, declared rebels, from the dominions of France; to deſire the Regent's good offices for removing the Pretender from Lorraine, and not allowing any of the Iriſh officers that followed the Pretender into Scotland, to return again into the ſervice of France. I received a letter to the Duke of Lorraine from the King, deſiring the removal of the Pretender and his adherents.

* Probably, Bolingbroke is meant.

† The famous memorial, complaining of the underhand ſupplies given to the Jacobites in France, printed in Lamberti. vol. x. p. 346.

Duke

GEORGE I. 1716.

Duke of Ormond and Lord Mar, are all gone to St. Germain to take leave of the Pretender, who has been all this while at St. Germain and in the neighbourhood. This laſt week we have been entertained with Bolingbroke's diſgrace, for having betrayed the Chevalier, and kept correſpondence with me. The Seals were offered to Lord Mar, who refuſed them, becauſe of his not ſpeaking French.

Monday 9th. I prepared the memorial. I went to Court at night to deliver it, but I could not ſee him. I had made ſeveral attempts of that kind to no purpoſe. I underſtood it was a reſolution taken, that I ſhould not ſee him for ſome time, that I might have no opportunity to deſire the removal of the Pretender, and that they might have time to wait the event of their project by the Swediſh fleet.

Tueſday 10th. I went to the Regent's levée, and deſired audience; which I had. I took my memorial for a text, which I read, and talked to the ſeveral articles as I went along.

1. The Regent rejoiced at the ſucceſs of the King's arms, in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions.

2. Excuſed the Pretender's paſſage, and ſtay in France, aſſured me he had immediately ſent to deſire him to be gone, and that he was now gone.

3. Promiſed the immediate removal of the chief of the rebels condemned by Parliament, deſiring only that the King would declare that he would do the like with regard to ſuch perſons as might be condemned for rebellion in France.

He afterwards complained of my having writ to his diſadvantage into England. I told him, I had always writ of his Highneſs as it became a man that profeſſed himſelf his ſervant; that I had laid the blame of things that happened here upon his Miniſters, who, I really believed to be much more to blame than his Royal Highneſs. I told him, that I had given a faithful account of all that his Royal

Highneſs

Highneſs had ſaid to me of his deſire and intentions to live in friend- GEORGE I. 1716.
ſhip with the King; that, at the ſame time, I had been often obliged, by the duty of my ſtation, to give an account of things, that were a doing in France, which did not agree with what his Royal Highneſs told me; which I thought myſelf obliged to do as an honeſt man, and a faithful ſervant to my Maſter, who intruſted me to obſerve what was doing for or againſt his intereſt. I parted very good friends, I thought, with the Regent. I preſſed a ſpeedy anſwer; that the world might have no occaſion to ſuſpect that any delay in the matter proceeded from a deſire to ſee the iſſue of the project of the Swediſh fleet, which I ſhewed his Royal Highneſs was a very uncertain one at beſt, and impoſſible to take effect the moment it was known in England, as it then was. He promiſed me a ſpeedy anſwer.

Wedneſday 11*th*. I waited on the Marechal d'Huxelles, and gave him the memorial. Three days laſt paſt, I have had ſeveral conferences with Peterborough, who has been employed by the French Court to diſcover my inclinations and inſtructions as to a rupture with France. By him I find they are for making a treaty to ſecure themſelves, and for having the performance of the former treaty to enter into this as conditions. In caſe of ſuch a treaty, his Lordſhip aſſures me they will do with the Pretender whatever the King can deſire, and that they will be exceedingly civil to me. I told him that my inſtructions were to keep a good correſpondence, if it was poſſible; that I had no orders that looked like deſiring a breach; that we ſhould be able to judge of their intentions by the anſwer they gave to my memorial. I ſaw Peterborough very full of the treaty, which he was ready to go into England to promote, and to carry the Duke d'Aumont along with him, who is come out the greateſt Whig that ever was here, and who now owns that he ever was ſo.

GEORGE I. 1716. If I am mighty complaiſant, I may have the honour of making this treaty; if I happen to be ruſty, it will go into other hands.

Heads of conference with Marechal d'Huxelles *.

Paris, Thurſday, April 16th, 1716.

ANSWER to my memorial given to the Regent the 8th, deſiring his good offices, for removing the Pretender beyond the Alps †.

The King's good diſpoſition to be in friendſhip, and in perfect good underſtanding with the Regent and with France.

If France thinks ſuch a friendſhip for her intereſt, trifles will not ſtand in the way of it; ſuch as removing the Pretender and his followers into Italy. Expedients will be eaſily found to bring the matter about, when both ſides are in earneſt to concur in finding the means, and making them practicable.

If France thinks it more for their intereſt to keep the Pretender, we have no more to ſay; they are judges, and it is needleſs to trouble them with fruitleſs ſolicitations.

The Vendoſme ‡ at Havre. She firſt lay, with arms going on board her, in the road; and afterwards another was loaded as the firſt, and in the ſame place. The ſhip gone to La Hogue to take paſſengers for Scotland.

* Then Miniſter for foreign affairs. He had been Plenipotentiary at Utrecht.

† With the Duke of Lorrain and the Pope.

‡ An old French privateer taken up by the Jacobites for the Pretender's ſervice.

*Queſtions * qu'on me fait d'Angleterre ſur leſquelles il faut conſulter S. A. R. pour pouvoir repondre.*

1. PUISQUE S. A. R. dit, qu'elle obſerve, et obſervera religieuſement le traité d'Utrecht, et qu'elle ne favoriſera en rien le Pretendant; on me demande, quels pas S. A. R. a fait, pour empecher que le Pretendant ne entrat en France, et quels ordres elle a donnée, pour l'empecher d'y reſter, ou de paſſer dans la Grande Bretagne?

2. J'ay mandé que S. A. R. etoit fort offenſé contre ceux qui avoient fait ſortir les armes du Havre, et qu'elle m'avoit aſſuré qu'elle feroit punir ceux qui l'avoient fait. On me demande, ſi le reſentiment du Regent contre ces Meſſieurs la avoit paru?

3. J'avois mandé que S. A. R. etoit tres offenſé contre les officiers et cavaliers du regiment de Nugent, qui avoient deſerté pour s'embarquer avec le Pretendant et le Duc d'Ormond. On me demande, de quelle maniere on a traité ces deſerteurs depuis leur retour?

4. Je leur avois mandé que S. A. R. ne permettroit à aucun officier, ou autre, dans le ſervice de France, de paſſer dans la Grande Bretagne, pour le ſervice du Pretendant, et que particulierement les officiers Generaux, et autres, nominés pour aller avec le Pretendant, ne ſortiroient pas de France; et que ſi quelqu'un deſertoit pour le ſuivre, il ſeroit d'abord caſſé.

On me demande, ſi le reſentiment du Regent avoit paru contre quelqu'un de ces officiers; ſi ceux qui etoient à Boulogne et à Calais pour paſſer en Ecoſſe, y ſont encore; et ſi l'on a fait quelque choſe de la part du Regent pour les eloigner de la?

5. J'avois mandé qu'on ne ſouffriroit plus Lord Bolingbroke à Paris, et qu'on lui avoit donné ordre de s'en retirer, il y a ſix ſemaines. On me demande, s'il n'y eſt plus?

* Theſe queſtions have relation to the memorial above mentioned.

GEORGE I. 1717.

6. On me demande, ſi on a ſaiſi les armes, et les munitions de guerre, qui etoient abord du vaiſſeau dans le quel le Duc d'Ormond avoit embarqué pour paſſer en Angleterre, qui eſt venu relacher à Morlaix.

Letters and Extracts of Letters from Lord Stair to James Craggs, Eſq.

My dear Craggs, Paris, January the 4th, 1717 *.

I AM very much obliged to you, for your letter of the 17th of December, O. S. The contents of it gave me great pain. You know my thoughts of a ſchiſm in the preſent ſtate of our affairs. I look upon what has happened, as the moſt dangerous thing could befall us, both as to the matter, and as to the manner. What the devil did Lord Sunderland and Stanhope mean, to make ſuch a † ſtep without concerting it? What, did they mean to make it before the King was at hand to ſupport it? What do Lord Townſhend and Walpole mean ‡? What end can they propoſe to themſelves? The Duke of Argyle's is a mad part; but he acts conſequentially, and I can conceive what he would be at. For all the reſt of us, we ſeem to be unaccountably mad, without any ſyſtem or deſign. God knows where, or how, it will end. I am afraid very ill. I am ſure, I can make no manner of judgment nor conjecture. I know when certain people take certain ſteps, of what conſequence it is to ſupport them; but there muſt be head, and hearts, and hands. Half a dozen of good men would go far; but they muſt be men indeed. Have you

* Mr. Craggs was made Secretary at War about three months after, on the reſignation of Mr. Pulteney.

† The removal of Lord Townſhend, from being Secretary of State.

‡ Perhaps he alludes to their going into oppoſition, in conjunction with the Tories.

ſuch

ſuch men? Tis a dangerous and critical juncture. God ſend us a good deliverance. GEORGE I. 1717.

If I was to judge of the courage of our new miniſters by their behaviour towards me, I ſhould take them for men of great vigour. They have cracked their whip about my ears in a moſt maſterly manner. I have received a letter from Robethon *, to let me know that it behoves me to be ſatisfied, with an enumeration of all the obligations I have to Mr. Stanhope, which are, modeſtly ſpeaking, more than I could pretend to. I have anſwered him, acknowledging my obligations to Mr. Stanhope, to which I think I had ever made a juſt return; but telling him very plainly, that I thought I had very good reaſon to complain of the Secretary's neglect, in the matter of my miniſtry at this court, and of his trifling with me in the matter of my ſtay here. That, to cut the matter ſhort, I was ſatisfied that what was neceſſary to ſupport me in this ſtation, was more than my ſervice could be worth, and that therefore, I was reſolved to beg the King to recal me.

I ſpoke of my own merit very humbly, and acknowledged that, by the enumeration of what I had from the King, it was plain, I had more than I deſerved; that his Majeſty was maſter to take it all or any part of it; that it ſhould not hinder me to be a very faithful ſervant to him; that, whenever there was an occaſion, I ſhould be ready to ſupport his honour and intereſt with my life and fortune; that if a ſtorm came I ſhould be upon the deck, and durſt ſtand by my tackle as well as another man; that I never had forſaken my friends; and that times might come when great men would do their friends the honour to know them.

I had a touch given me about cabals, too, which he ſaid the King was reſolved not to ſuffer. I ſaid I ever had been an enemy to cabals, and ever would be ſo; that the King was my maſter, and that

* He was private Secretary to George I. and wrote his moſt ſecret letters.

I knew

GEORGE I 1717.

I knew no other. I trouble you with this detail, that you may ſee upon what footing theſe gentlemen have taken it about me; and that you may ſee, that, though I cannot be humble to people that uſe me as I think I have not deſerved, yet, at the ſame time, I wont ſo much as have the appearance of leaving my friends when they may be in diſtreſs.

By what I have told you, you'll ſee it is probable I may ſee you in England very ſoon. I am afraid theſe convulſions at home may hurt our affairs abroad.

Mr. *York* * continues to talk very wiſely. He deſires me to aſſure you, that he has taken his *pli*, and, happen what will, he will follow it; he is reſolved to go into the country, to wait quietly and patiently, what becomes of the public, and of his private affair. He goes with Madame de Villette.—Miſs is in a convent.

My dear Craggs, Paris, June the 14th, 1717.

THE incloſed are from our friend York, who continues to behave himſelf perfectly well; ſo I am ſure you will be inclined to do him all the ſervice you can. I think, in juſtice, he ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the party he is of, being almoſt the only man who has ſincerely left it.

Our affairs abroad go very well. This court is firm to the alliance. The Czar courts the King's friendſhip, and has ordered his troops to leave the duchy of Mecklenburg inſtantly. He deſires to take meaſures with the King, either for peace or war with Sweden; and offers to make a treaty of commerce to our ſatisfaction.

I wiſh our affairs went as ſmoothly at home, and a way could be found to get the better of our unnatural diviſions.

* A cant name for Lord Bolingbroke, which occurs frequently in this correſpondence.

Paris, July the 28th, 1717.

I SEND you incloſed a packet from *York*. You will ſee in what manner he bears his misfortune. I really pity him, becauſe he is almoſt the only man of his party, that I have ſeen reſolved to act a good part. He deſires two things, for which I deſire your interceſſion with Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Stanhope. The firſt is, that I may have orders to ſpeak to the Regent, to conſider him as a man under the King's protection. The next, that Brinſden may have leave to come into England, for *York*'s private affairs, which require to be put into ſome order. As things ſtand now, if either his father or his wife ſhould happen to die, he would be a very great loſer.

Paris, October the 5th, 1717.

I HEARTILY wiſh there had been no ſchiſm amongſt the Whigs; and you know I moſt heartily wiſhed that it had been prevented in the beginning; but I cannot ſay, when things had unhappily come to certain extremities, that the King had any other party to take than what he did take. When he had taken that party, I was very heartily and ſincerely for doing every thing in my power to ſupport the King's ſervice, in the hands of the ſervants he thought fit to employ. I can ſay with great truth, that there are no men in Britain that I perſonally love better, than I love both Lord Sunderland and Lord Stanhope. And beſides that I have a very great and ſincere value and eſteem both for the one and for the other, I reckon myſelf tied to both by very great obligations. So that I am very far from having any grudge at ſeeing them in power, or from willing to ſee any others in their places.

And I agree with you, likewiſe, that in public affairs, when a meaſure is taken that a man does not approve of in his judgment, if it be only a matter of policy and not againſt the direct intereſt of

GEORGE I. 1717. one's country, I think one ſhould ſupport the meaſure when once it is reſolved, as if it was their own, and as if they had adviſed it; and I would have done both in the occaſional, and the univerſity bills; though I was very glad they were dropped, and thought it was very prudent ſo to do. But I will tell you what I mean: in taking public meaſures, I think the wiſeſt and moſt moderate men's opinions ſhould be aſked and followed. For if raſh councils are followed, you will not find hands to ſupport them. By attempting things, even right things, which you are not able to carry, you expoſe yourſelf, in our popular government, to the having the adminiſtration wreſted out of your hands, and put into other hands; may be, into the hands of the enemies of our conſtitution. I would have us keep in our ſtrong ground, where I think nothing can hurt us, and where I think every attack that is made upon the adminiſtration muſt miſcarry; and in that ground take the advantage of doing all the good and popular things you mention. Proceeding in that manner will ſtrengthen the hands of the adminiſtration, and beget power and reſpect. But if heat and impatience will make you go out of the entrenchments, and attack a formidable enemy with feeble forces, and troops that follow you unwillingly, you will run a riſk to be beat, and you wont get people to go along with you to purpoſe, by reproaching them that they are of this cabal, or of the other cabal, or by reproaching them that they are afraid. Make yourſelf ſtrong, and they will follow you into danger; but, in my poor opinion, it is not ſafe to lead them into danger, till you are ſtrong. May be, I am wrong, but this is my opinion; and yet, if I know myſelf, I am not of a fearful temper, and as capable to take a hardy reſolution as another man, when it is needful.

Paris, October the 25th, 1717. GEORGE I. 1719.

THE Duke of Ormonde and Mar are gone into Italy. Mar deſired to ſee me; he came to my houſe and ſtayed four or five hours. By his way, he looked, at that time, upon their affairs to be deſperate. He flung out ſeveral things as I thought with a deſign to try whether there was any hopes of treating. Becauſe I did not think it was fair to give falſe hopes to an old friend, though I knew, at the ſame time, he would not have dealt ſo with me, we did not dip deep into particulars; but in converſations of that kind, there is always ſomething curious to be learned. I believe our maſter has confidence enough in me, to think that nothing paſſed in the conference contrary to his ſervice.

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My dear Craggs*, May the 7th, 1719.

I MUST ſay to you in private, that in the whole affair of the North, I am not at all ſatisfied with our friend the Abbé; nor have I been ſatisfied, at any one time, or in any one thing, relative to that affair, ſince his coming into the miniſtry. His ſending no miniſters to Peterſburg; his not ſending of Hooke to Berlin; the myſtery he has made of Rottemburg's negociations at that court; his long and frequent conferences with Schleinitz; all the *Micmac* we have ſeen about the count de la Marck, whilſt in Sweden; and the Abbé's behaviour ſince his return, diſpleaſes me much in every point, and ſhews an inclination to play foul play. I have but one thing to ſay for the Abbé, and that is, that, in truth and in verity, he does not underſtand one ſingle bit of the affairs of the North, nor has any notion of them. Some time ago, when I had drawn him into talk with me of

* Mr. Craggs was in March 1718, appointed Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. Addiſon.

GEORGE I. 1719.

theſe affairs, he acknowledged to me that he was very ignorant of thoſe matters of the north, and of the intereſt of thoſe northern princes, and how their dominions lie to one another; but he promiſed me that he would ſtudy the map, and employ ſome time *pour ſe mettre au fait*. I am afraid the Abbé has not found that time; and ſo he is no more knowing than he was formerly, and therefore is unwilling to talk of what he does not at all underſtand. If this thought of mine does not account for the Abbé's conduct, I do not know how to do it. For ſince the Count de la Marck's arrival, as I told you formerly, he aſſured me that he had brought no plan; that all he brought amounted to no more than that the Queen of Sweden was diſpoſed to treat with the King preferable to her other enemies. When I preſſed him a little, and put him in mind that he had ſhewed me a letter from the Count de la Marck, from Copenhagen, in which the Count told him he carried a plan for the peace of the North, he fell into a moſt violent paſſion, and raved, for half an hour, reproaches and God knows what. The next day, he had inſtructed the Regent not to dip into particulars, but to promiſe me a paper containing what the Count de la Marck had to ſay. But, unluckily, the day before that, the very day I had ſpoken to the Abbé, the Regent had told me, that the Count de la Marck had brought a plan, and had given me an account of the principal articles.

On Sunday, I ſaw the Count de la Marck, who talked to me very fully. I was promiſed the paper, day after day, till Thurſday I found the Abbé at home, the day he receives the foreign miniſters. I had called in vain every day of the week ſince Sunday, and had been denied entrance every day. When I ſpoke of the paper, and told him I had delayed ſending my courier till I had the Count de la Marck's paper, he flew into a violent paſſion, and ſaid I had talked three hours together with the Count de la Marck; that, in that converſation, he had told me every thing he had to ſay,

and more than he had ſaid to him or the Duke of Orleans; that ſuch a converſation *valoit mieux qu' un chifon de papier*. I told him I was very unwilling, in a matter of ſuch conſequence, to truſt to my own memory; that I was afraid of miſtaking and giving a wrong impreſſion; that the thought of giving that paper was his own, and none of mine; that there was no need to be in a paſſion; that if he did not think fit to give the paper, I would make the beſt relation I could by my memory, and ſend away my courier to England without it. Well, ſays he, I will tell you all the contents of it upon my finger. To put it in writing is the work of a quarter of an hour; may be the Count de la Marck has done it already; if he has not done it, it ſhall be done to night, and you ſhall have it. I talked to the Duke of Orleans that ſame day, without taking any notice of what had paſſed with the Abbé. He was ſurpriſed that I had not received the paper; and talked to me in the manner I have related that converſation to you in my diſpatch. GEORGE I. 1719.

As I conceive it, the ſecret of this matter is, that France has a mind to the mediation and ſole management of this negociation; and, in order to that, they are deſirous to keep us in the dark as long as poſſibly they can, that they may have the leading of us. It imports us much to get out of this ſituation as ſoon as we can. And as ſoon as that happens, that we ſee and hear with our own eyes and ears, and that we can ſpeak for ourſelves, France will act a fairer part with us. In the mean time, I am very much miſtaken, if the miniſters have not done their beſt to promote Sweden's agreeing with the Czar and the King of Pruſſia. But, as I take it, that agreement is almoſt impracticable, becauſe of the incompatibility of the Czar's views and the intereſt of Sweden. For though the Count de la Marck aſſures me that the Swedes have their hearts ſet upon the recovering their dominions in Germany, it can never come into my head, that any Swede can think that any part of their domi-

GEORGE I. 1719.

nions in Germany, or the whole, is of equal conſequence to the nation of Sweden as Revel and Livonia.

I have waded through all the difficulties of the ceremonial. Monſ. le Duc was very civil in his viſit; and Monſ. le Prince de Conti very much otherwiſe. I have but one ſmall one remaining now, and that is, the Introductor pretends to ſend me the day and the hour for making my viſit, without concerting with me whether the time is convenient for me, which I ſay cannot be; and the Regent is of my opinion.

Paris, May 29, 1719.

I SEND you encloſed the copies of two letters from Lord Mar at Geneva, of the 6th and 22d May; the originals I have ſent to Hanover. I have received a third letter from him not ſigned, but writ in his own hand, where he ſpeaks in the third perſon, in which he deſires me to try if the King is diſpoſed to grant him his pardon; and in that caſe he tells me, that he is ready to make his ſubmiſſion. He ſays, I may eaſily foreſee with how many inconveniencies his making application, without knowing how it will be received, would be attended; and therefore begs of me not to ſhew the paper he ſends me, to any body, in his hand-writing. He allows me to take a copy of it in my own hand, and requires of me to deſtroy the original. In a word, he has left the Pretender's ſervice, and he has a mind to ſubmit himſelf to the King, and to make his peace, if the King will reſtore him to his honours and eſtate.

You are to conſider whether it will be worth the while to receive him. In my humble opinion, the taking him off will be the greateſt blow that can be given to the Pretender's intereſt, and the greateſt

greateſt diſcredit to it. And it may be made uſe of to ſhew to the world, that nobody but a papiſt can hope to continue in favour with the Pretender. GEORGE I. 1719.

I need not repreſent to you the conveniences and the inconveniences of this matter. You are better able to judge of them than I can be. I deſire you will conſider of them with Lord Sunderland, to whom he deſires his ſecret may be truſted, and begs it may be put into as few hands as poſſible. I wrote fully of that matter laſt night, by a meſſenger I ſent to Hanover. In the mean time, this morning, I ſent an expreſs to Geneva, by which I wrote kindly to him, to encourage him to return to his duty, and to keep him in good humour; and to deſire that the Republic of Geneva would give him no manner of hopes of being ſet at liberty.

This courier carries a letter of Lord Mar's to the Duke of Kingſton, which he will probably ſhew you, in which I ſuppoſe he ſpeaks the ſame language he has ſpoken to me. I ſhall be glad to know your ſentiments of this matter as ſoon as may be. I wiſh you may think as I do. I own all his faults and his misfortunes cannot make me forget the long and intimate friendſhip and familiarity has that been between him and me. I ſhall mix nothing elſe in this letter. I have been very much out of order theſe five or ſix days laſt paſt; which, may be, has contributed a little towards my diſliking the countenance this Court has worn theſe eight or ten days laſt paſt. I have been uſed, from time to time, to meet with ſuch cold fits.—Probably this may go off, as the others have done.

GEORGE I. 1719.

Lord Mar to Lord Stair.

May 6th, 1719.

GOOD Captain Brown will not, I hope, take amiſs his old acquaintance Jo. Murray's writing to him at this time; and when he knows the occaſion, I am perſuaded he will forgive him, and comply as far as he can with what he is to aſk him. My health is not ſo good juſt now, nor for ſome time paſt, as you would wiſh it; and I am adviſed to drink the waters of Bourbon for it, as being the likeſt to thoſe of the Bath of any this ſide the ſea, of which I formerly found ſo much good. The hot climate, where I have been for ſome time paſt, by no means agrees with my health; and I am perſuaded, that where ſome of our company is gone would ſtill do worſe with me. The affair in which it might be thought my Captain would employ me being now, I ſuppoſe, over, for this bout, there needs be, I ſhould think, no objection to what I ſhould aſk.

I am come part of the way already; but I would not go much further without acquainting you with it. And now I beg, that on the conſideration of the health of an old friend, you will give me allowance or furlo to go to the waters of Bourbon, and to continue there ſo long as I may have occaſion for them during the two ſeaſons this year; and I promiſe to you I ſhall do nothing, in any way, the time of my being there, but as you would have me; ſo that this allowance can be of no prejudice to the ſervice. If you cannot give me the furlo yourſelf, I imagine your Colonel will not refuſe it; if you will be ſo good to aſk it for me. But becauſe the firſt ſeaſon of the waters is going faſt away, I ſhould be glad you could do it without waiting to hear from your Colonel about it, who, I ſhould think, would not take it amiſs when you acquaint him with your having ventured to do ſo. Do not, I beg of you, think

think there is any fetch in this, or any thing but what I have told you, which, upon honour, is nothing but truth, and all the truth. I hope there will be no occaſion of mentioning your having had this trouble from me to any, unleſs it be to your Colonel and one or two about him, and the perſon, it is like, you muſt ſpeak to where you are. There is one with me, an old ſchool-acquaintance of yours too, Mr. Stuart of Invernethy, whom you have ſeen dance very merrily over a ſword; and if the allowance is granted me, I hope it will not be refuſed to him, for whom I promiſe as I do for myſelf.

When I have done with the waters, I hope there will be no objection to my returning to Italy again, if I have a mind; but I judged it fit to mention this to you.

The perſon who delivers you this, will get conveyed to me what you will be ſo good to write.

Lord Mar to Lord Stair.

My Lord, Geneva, May 22, 1719.

I WROTE to you on the 6th, under the old names of Brown and Murray, which I hope came to your hands; but, in caſe it has not, allow me to tell you in this, about what it was. I have, for ſome time, been worſe in my health than you would wiſh; the hot climate, where I have been this year and half paſt, by no means agreeing with me, and that of Spain I was ſure would do worſe, which made me unwilling to go there. I was adviſed to drink the waters of Bourbon, which are the likeſt to thoſe of the Bath in England, that uſed to do me ſo much good; and thither I intended to go, and acquaint you with my being there as ſoon as I arrived. Before I got ſo far on my journey as the confines of France, I was informed

GEORGE I. 1719. informed that there was no going thither, for me eſpecially, without a paſſport, or allowance; which was the reaſon of my troubling you with the letter I mention above, begging, that you would be ſo good as to give me a paſſport for going there, or to procure one for me, if you was not at liberty to give it yourſelf. And I promiſed, upon honour, not to meddle in any way againſt the government during my being there. The expedition which threatened England being no more, as I was informed, to be feared by the government, and I only coming to France upon account of my health, made me hope that your maſter would have the goodneſs not to refuſe this my requeſt, ſince it could be of no bad conſequence to him. I told you in that letter, that I would not advance in my journey much further, till I had your anſwer. I propoſed to myſelf to go, and expect it at the waters of St. Prix near this place; but, in my way thither, I have had the bad luck to be ſtopped at the influence of the Hanoverian miniſter, as they call him. I went by another name than my own, and I am ſure I was giving no offence or diſturbance to any whatever. Upon the government of the ſtate's ſending to me, I owned who I was, ſince they would needs know it, and told them my ſtory as above; particularly of my having writ to your Lordſhip, and that I expected your anſwer one of theſe days, as I doubt not but you will be informed. They have taken away any papers I had, but ſealed up with my ſeal and that of the town major's; but they are but a very few, and of no conſequence to any body but myſelf; and among them is the copy of my letter to your Lordſhip under the name of Captain Brown. How they intend to diſpoſe of me I yet know not; and it is probable they will firſt acquaint and hear from your maſter upon it, before they diſmiſs me. I hope your Lordſhip may have already procured me an allowance for coming into France upon the account and conditions I propoſed it; but if it be not yet done, I beg of your Lordſhip, that you will endeavour now to get it me; and I promiſe, upon honour,

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that I ſhall do nothing while there contrary to what you would have me, nor meddle, directy nor indirectly, in any buſineſs whatſoever, it being merely upon account of my health I aſk it. I have a better opinion of your maſter and his miniſters, than to think or ſuppoſe there will be any hard thing aſked of this State as to me, when I was giving no manner of trouble, nor intending any diſturbance againſt them, nor could that be of any advantage to their intereſt. The poſt is juſt going ſo I write in great haſte, and I beg you may forgive ſuch a ſcraul. You may eaſily believe how impatient I ſhall be for your anſwer; ſo I hope it is needleſs to preſs your letting me have it ſoon.

There was a thing in relation to an old acquaintance of your's whom you uſed to call ſometimes the governor, that I delayed in my laſt to mention, reſerving it to be ſpoken of by word of mouth, for which I thought it more proper, and I believe it would not be diſpleaſing to you; but the poſt now gives me not time to ſay any more of it, though perhaps I may give you a little touch of it by the next, and then you may ſee if it will be thought worth the while to be attended to. There is one thing which I ſhould think makes a conſiderable difference betwixt my aſking allowance now, to go to the waters of Bourbon, and formerly. I was then in the immediate ſervice of the Chevalier, and now I have given up the ſeals which I had from him.

If I be allowed to go into France, it will be a favour of which I will ever be ſenſible; but if not, I hope I ſhall be allowed to return to Italy, where I may end my days in quiet, and thoſe will not probably be many in that climate. I hope you will be ſo good as to pardon all this trouble from an old acquaintance, who always had, and ever will have, the greateſt friendſhip for you; nobody being with more truth and reſpect,

Your's, &c.

MAR.

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Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs.

Paris, June the 4th, 1719.

IT has happened juſt as I foreſaw it would, the cold fit is gone off, and the Abbé is as ſweet as honey and as ſoft as oil again. They are alarmed at the King of Spain's coming to Pampaluna, and they imagine the Cardinal muſt certainly have ſome very deep deſign well laid, and concerted in France, to occaſion a general revolution. I am perſuaded there is no ſuch thing. However, it has this good effect, it makes them cling faſt to us, and makes them wiſh that the affairs of the North were compoſed, that, if there ſhould be occaſion for it, we may be able to help them. We ſhould take this opportunity to puſh a point in the North, as long as we may hope to meet with no oppoſition from France; for as ſoon as their fears are over at home, it is probable they may return again to their old play, and endeavour to keep up the differences on that ſide in hopes to profit of them.

I dont think your ſcheme for the affairs of the North is a bad one, by any manner of means, to keep the Swedes out of the Empire, and to drive the Muſcovites as far off as is poſſible. You can never hope to engage the princes that are embarked in the war againſt Sweden, to aſſiſt that Crown powerfully and to purpoſe, againſt the Czar, if you do not procure them conſiderable advantages, which indeed you do by your ſcheme. When you are all agreed in it, I am afraid you will find a good deal of difficulty to drive out the Czar. Carrying armies at ſo great a diſtance will be ſo very difficult and ſo very expenſive, that I do not very well ſee how it is to be compaſſed. I know no other way but by diſtreſſing him in his trade. In order to do that, it is abſolutely neceſſary that you ſhould bring the Dutch into your meaſures; in taking that way you know how much we may ſuffer, in the firſt place, by the confiſcation of the goods and effects belonging to our Ruſſia company.

The

The Abbé is firmly perſuaded that the Engliſh miniſters know nothing of all the buſineſs of the North, and that Monſieur Bernſtorff keeps all the matters entirely to himſelf, and that there is no plan yet formed. Monſieur des Touches, who is arrived from England, confirms him in that opinion; and you may be ſure, I ſay nothing to make him to change his opinion: it is very well that he is of that opinion, but it cannot laſt long. In a very ſhort time they muſt be appriſed of what the King intends and propoſes; and, therefore, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak to this court; in the firſt place, that they may have no reaſon to complain; and in the next place, to bring them to conſent to our ſcheme, which will be eaſier at this time than it may happen to be afterwards. I have all along, in converſation with the Regent, endeavoured to perſuade him, that, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom of Sweden, it can be of no great uſe to France, that that crown ſhould preſerve a foot in the Empire; and that the true and ſolid balance againſt the Emperor, and for preſerving the liberty of Germany, muſt be by making a cloſe conjunction among the princes of the north of Germany, who, united for their mutual defence and common intereſt, will always be able to contain the emperor within bounds, or to be too hard for him, with the aſſiſtance of Britain and France, if he ſhould undertake any thing by force againſt the liberty of the German body. This thought, in general, pleaſes the Regent very well; but he does, by no means, like the particular part of it, to deprive the Crown of Sweden of their dominions in Germany. Till I have orders to ſpeak, I ſhall avoid converſations upon the affairs of the North, as much as it is poſſible.

You will ſee the Abbé Strickland in England very ſoon, who is a very underſtanding man, and may be of very great uſe to us. He will give you an account of his converſations with the Abbé, who was not in good humour at the time of his being here.

My Dear Craggs, Paris, June the 14th, 1719.

I THANK you for your private letter by Colonel Campbell. What you ſay concerning Lord Mar, and of the unreaſonableneſs of the party you have to deal with, is very right; but, at the ſame time, I am of opinion, that one muſt often endeavour to do them good, even againſt their will. I ſhould be very glad, for the old friendſhip between Mar and me, to do him ſervice; but, I own to you, my greateſt aim is to do ſervice to the King and to our country, by detaching him from the Pretender's intereſt, which I think cannot be done if you will exact from Lord Mar to abandon the Pretender, to make his ſubmiſſion to the King, and to do his Majeſty ſome conſiderable ſervice, before he can be aſſured of obtaining his pardon. This is the method that Lord Stanhope preſcribes to me in his letter of the 7th of June, from Hanover. In my humble opinion, if this method is taken, you will drive back Lord Mar into the Pretender's ſervice, and make every man that ever has been engaged in that intereſt irreconcileable to the King and to his country. What I would do is this: I would, in the firſt place, permit the Magiſtrates of Geneva, to give him the liberty of their town upon his engaging his word and honour not to go out, without their permiſſion in writing; in the next place, I would permit their giving him leave to go in the latter ſeaſon to the waters of Bourbon for his health, upon his giving them an obligation in writing, upon his word and honour, to return thither after the ſeaſon of the waters was over, and obliging himſelf not to meddle, directly nor indirectly, with any thing relating to the Pretender's ſervice during his ſtay at the ſaid waters. In the mean time, I would let Lord Mar know that, upon his making his ſubmiſſion to the King, and returning to

his duty, his Majeſty will be diſpoſed to grant him his pardon; but as that matter requires the conſent of Parliament, till that can be obtained, his Majeſty will allow him a penſion yearly equal to the value of his eſtate, which will amount to no great ſum, conſidering what is already given to Lady Mar and to his daughter by her. By this means you will effectually diſengage Lord Mar from the Pretender's ſervice, and ſtill continue maſters of his good behaviour, without riſking any more than a very inconſiderable ſum of money. But till I receive further direction in this matter from the King, or from England, I ſhall meddle no more in this negociation. I ſhall content myſelf to write a general anſwer to Lord Mar, to endeavour to keep him in good humour, till I can receive further orders relating to him. GEORGE I. 1719.

In the next place, I hope I may rejoice with you, that our treaty with the King of Pruſſia is concluded. By the project adjuſted at Hanover, which Lord Stanhope ſends to me, every thing ſeems to be made ſo palatable to the King of Pruſſia, that I am perſuaded it will be agreed to at Berlin, to judge by what Mr. Whitworth writes, and eſpecially by what Count Rottembourg writes to this court. I have much the better hopes of it, that this court does now extremely deſire the concluſion of that treaty; becauſe they are exceedingly alarmed with the King of Spain's preparations, which they apprehend, are deſigned to invade France. And another thing that gives them a great deal of pain, is, that the deſertion begins to be very great in the Marechal of Berwick's army. They are of opinion, and with reaſon, that the hopes of the * league of the North, keeps up the ſpirit of the Spaniſh faction in France, and encourages the Cardinal to ſtand out, and to frame projects of invading this kingdom, in hopes of a general revolution; all which hopes they think would be overturned, if the King of Pruſſia was detached from the Czar,

* Between the Czar, Pruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark.

and

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and by that means, all expectations deſtroyed of a diverſion in Germany, and of an invaſion, from the North, in Great Britain. I have agreed with the Abbé du Bois, to diſpatch a courier to Hanover, to repreſent the ſtate of affairs here, and to preſs, for that reaſon, in the Regent's name, that the King would overcome all the difficulties that may yet obſtruct the concluſion of the treaty with the King of Pruſſia, becauſe of the great importance that it is of to his R. H. the Regent, at this critical juncture, to have the appearances of a league in the North, to act in favour of the King of Spain, deſtroyed. If we make uſe of the favourable diſpoſition of this court, with ſkill and diligence, there is a fair proſpect of our making an end of the northern war, in the manner we can deſire, without any oppoſition from France; which we ſhould certainly meet with, if their affairs at home did not give them as much pain, as they do at preſent. I have made ſo good uſe of this opportunity, that I have engaged the Regent, not to ſend back the Count de la Marck to Sweden, upon ſhewing him all the reaſons why that miniſter was juſtly ſuſpected by our court. I hope Lord Carteret is gone; and that he will be able to profit of the preſent favourable diſpoſition to bring the Swedes into the King's meaſures; and that Lord Stanhope, having reaſon on his ſide, will be able to get the better of old Bernſtorff's humour.

Lord Mar to Lord Stair *.

Geneva, June 2d, 1719.

THIS afternoon I had the pleaſure of your obliging return of the 29th of May to mine of the 6th and 22d; by which I have the ſatisfaction to ſee that I was not miſtaken in your friendſhip; and it were unjuſt in me to expect any thing of you, notwithſtanding of that, which you think either too much to take upon you, or wherein there may be a poſſibility of what may be thought a prejudice to thoſe you ſerve. Your laying my requeſt before them is all I could expect, and I doubt not of your having done that in the way moſt likely to obtain my deſire. I will wait for it with patience; and hope, by ſuch interceſſion, and their own good nature, of which I have had proofs before, that I ſhall ſoon have by you a favourable anſwer, ſince it is really and truly upon the account of my health I want leave to go to France, and that their intereſt cannot ſuffer by my being there. By taking ſome medicines ſince I came here, my health is rather better; but I find I ſhall not recover it to any tolerable degree, without the waters, which will make me the more obliged for an allowance of going to Bourbon.

I muſt own I am very civilly treated by the people of this place, and, beſide to be free again, I have only to wiſh, that I had a little more liberty for taking the air and exerciſe. It will be towards a fortnight, I judge, before I can know from you the anſwer you have about me; and in the mean time, I believe I ſhall be obliged, upon account of my health, to aſk the government here a little enlargement of my tether; and if I do, it ſhall be in ſuch a way, that I fancy they can ſcarce refuſe me, and which I am almoſt ſure your maſter would not.

* Tranſmitted to Secretary Craggs by his Lordſhip, in a private letter of June 14th.

If

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If any thing new occur, I will give you the trouble of another letter; and I will take up no more of your time juſt now, but to aſſure you that this new proof of your old friendſhip is not only a very ſenſible pleaſure to me, but what would make me, if poſſible, more ſincerely and affectionately, &c.

Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs.

Paris, July 8th, 1719.

I THANK you moſt heartily for your private letter of the 25th, and for the mark of your friendſhip and confidence you give me in ſending the ſeveral letters relating to your negociations now on foot. You may be well aſſured, that I ſhall make uſe of the truſt you repoſe in me with diſcretion, and as it becomes an honeſt man and a friend. I have already had copies of ſeveral of the moſt important papers ſent me from Hanover; as ſoon as I ſhall have peruſed the whole, and have taken ſuch extracts as are moſt neceſſary for my guidance, I ſhall return you the whole in a few days.

I am very ſorry to ſee the affairs of the North take ſuch an unlucky turn, eſpecially for the King of Denmark's leaving us; for, by that means, we come to ſtand ſingle, and in a very dangerous and ſlippery ſituation. If we could wait, or Sweden could wait, time would ſhew us what part in prudence we ought to play. But I am afraid circumſtances are ſuch, that we muſt already have determined what part to take, and whatever that part is, and however wiſely taken, the odds is againſt us, that it will be wrong; that is to ſay, that it will give handles to our enemies at home to find fault with the adminiſtration, and to our enemies abroad to hurt us. In the mean time, our ſquadron in the Baltic is expoſed not only to make an ill figure, but is in real danger, eſpecially if the Dane and Muſcovite

covite are ſo far agreed to have taken meaſures together. But it is to be hoped, as it generally happens in ſuch caſes, that there is but a half concert between them. I hope Providence will continue to take care of us, and direct the King to take right meaſures; that is to ſay, meaſures that will be juſtified by ſucceſs; for I take the conjuncture to be ſo delicate, that human wiſdom, without it is aſſiſted by good fortune, does not ſuffice to guide the wiſeſt men in this caſe to take a right party. Doing nothing, we are expoſed to be undone, by the meaſures the Muſcovites may have taken with the Dane to attack our ſquadron in the firſt place, for fear we ſhould help the Swedes. If we do not aſſiſt the Swedes, that nation is in danger of being ruined, to the great detriment of our trade, and of all Europe. If we do aſſiſt them, we run a riſk to entangle ourſelves in their ruin, and to draw the enmity of the Dane upon ourſelves; who, becauſe of the ſituation of his dominions, is one of the moſt dangerous enemies we could have at this time. What I apprehend the moſt is, the conjunction of the Daniſh and Muſcovite fleets; but there is this one reflection to give me hopes, that, in caſes of the like nature, we have always ſeen allies run ſeparately to the execution of their own particular projects, to the certain prejudice of the common cauſe. The evacuation of the Milaneſe after the battle of Turin, ſaved France in the firſt place; for thoſe very troops, which the Emperor might have ruined entirely, and have made himſelf maſter of in detail, in three or four months time, made him riſe from before Toulon; which place, and the ſucceſs of the whole war was loſt a ſecond time, by the great detachment of the Emperor's troops to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples. It is to be hoped, that the Daniſh and the Muſcovite Miniſters are no abler than the Emperor's Miniſters were at that time; and that the union of theſe new allies, made in haſte, is not more perfect than our union was with the Imperial Court at that time. In that caſe we may have an opportunity, in conjunction with the Swedes, to ſave

GEORGE I. 1719. them from the Czar. If the King of Denmark's project goes no farther, than making himſelf maſter of the little province of Dallie, which joins to Norway, and which would make it entirely impracticable for the Swedes to attack Norway, if the province of Dallie was in the King of Denmark's hands, there is no great danger if the Dane ſucceeds in it; on the contrary, that conqueſt would make the peace with the King of Denmark more practicable, becauſe, in caſe of that conqueſt made by the Danes, that province might be preſerved to them by the peace with Sweden; and, in exchange, the King of Denmark might yield to the Duke of Holſtein, the iſle of Rugen, and Pomerania, to make the ſaid Duke an equivalent for Sleſwyck; and to make the Crown of Sweden find their account in that, the ſucceſſion to the Crown, after the deceaſe of the Queen and the Prince of Heſſe, might be declared in favour of the Duke of Holſtein. So that, by this means, at leaſt a part of Pomerania would again return to be united to the Crown of Sweden, with the acceſſion of the Dutchy of Holſtein.

As to the part this Court will act in the affairs of the North, my opinion is, that they will lye by entirely; and that they will not put out a little finger to help the Swedes; and they will be cooler to us as long as our diſtruſt on that ſide laſts. For the conſtant practice of the Court of France, in all times, has been, to be very fond of their allies, when they could be of preſent uſe to them, and to be very neglectful of their beſt friends, when they were ſo unlucky as to have preſſing need of their aſſiſtance. So it fares with the Swedes; and ſo it would fare with us, if we ſhould have the misfortune to be in their caſe. In this matter, the preſent circumſtances of the French nation will concur with the Regent's own natural temper to determine him to lye by, to ſee how we can get ourſelves out of the affairs of the North. This Court is not ſorry to ſee ours a little embarraſſed, and they are very willing, in all caſes of the like nature, to puſh us into danger and difficulties, as much as they can, and to

ſtand aloof themſelves. Such has been their conduct in all the negociations in Spain before the war broke out; all the hard ſteps were made by the King and his Miniſters. At Vienna we have borne the odium of all the unpalatable terms which have been exacted from the Emperor. In Holland, they have let the States know that they would have ſigned the inſtrument of the States acceſſion, if our Miniſters would have conſented to do ſo. You may remember, that they have all along declared, that they would not allow the States to profit by the trade to Spain, if they did not come into the quadruple alliance. The Abbé du Bois has, in expreſs words, told the Dutch Ambaſſador ſo, more than once or twice. At preſent, when the ſtring of interrupting the commerce between Spain and Holland is touched, they give no ſound; and ſhew plainly enough, that if we make ſuch a declaration at the Hague, they will either not ſtand by us at all, or at leaſt let all the odium of the matter fall upon us. I think it will be imprudent for us to make ſuch a ſtep, till we ſee that they are reſolved to go hand in hand with us.

As to the affairs of Spain, you ſee how ſlowly and backwardly the war is carried on, and how unwillingly they are to come into meaſures to encourage the Spaniards to take arms for the recovery of their rights and privileges, which is the only ſure and ſpeedy way to make an end of the war. I am afraid we ſhall have difficulty to prevail with them to put their army into ſuch a ſituation as may give encouragement to the Spaniards to endeavour to help themſelves. I am afraid they have a hankering after a ſeparate peace with Spain, which can end in nothing but ruin and deſtruction to the Regent. He ſees it from time to time, and acts accordingly; but then, by fits and ſtarts, other fears and jealouſies prevail; which embarraſſes the ſprings that gave motion to the war, and makes the execution feeble and ſlow; and, in the *interim*, time runs away, and the ſeaſon of acting paſſes improfitably. I have ſome ſuſpicion that there is ſome underhand tampering with Spain. I cannot imagine what great buſineſs

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ſineſs the Sardinian Ambaſſador is charged with, to give him occaſion to have every week long audiences of the Regent, and frequent and long conferences with the Abbé du Bois.

Our poor friend the Abbé is, by turns, all fire and all ice; one day flying in the air, and the next day grovelling in duſt; one day open and frank, and the next day dark and myſterious. Sometimes he thinks I have too much power with the Regent, and endeavours to break off my ſeeing him in private; and, at other times, he deſires I ſhould have credit, and deſires the Regent ſhould hear me, and liſten to me. I do the beſt I can to ſooth him, and to bear all his inequalities. I wiſh, from my heart, he had the Cardinal's hat upon his head; but I am afraid, his maſter's temper is ſuch, that he will never be brought to agree to it. He thinks the Abbé would be too independant, and make too great a figure if he had that hat upon his head. The ſame temper makes that he will never declare for any party, nor truſt himſelf entirely to any number of perſons; which temper and circumſtances muſt, of neceſſity, produce a great uncertainty of meaſures, and a continual derangement in the execution of what is reſolved. This is a great ill, but it is almoſt as hard to be remedied, as it is to make a plum-tree bear pears. We muſt ſee to jogg on the beſt way we can; and we ſhould, in all probability, do very well, if we could avoid ſchiſms in our own party. They make us weak and contemptible. You know my way of thinking as to cabals. I ſhall be an enemy to them at all times, and upon all occaſions. I am much more in pain about our diviſions at home, and our private diſſentions, than about our foreign affairs.

Since I wrote what is above, I have ſeen the Regent, and ſhewed him the advice you ſent concerning the *dernier reſource* of the Spaniards, which was imagined to be a deſign againſt his life. He thanked me; and ſaid, that all he could do was not to expoſe himſelf idly, and, after that, not to be in pain about ſuch deſigns, which were difficult to be put in execution. He told me on that occaſion, that

that two days ago he had received advice, that within theſe few months, he had poiſon given him twice, which had taken no effect; he ſaid he did not believe the fact, but that ſuch intelligence had been given him to make him uneaſy. He ſaid, what, he thought, (poiſon excepted) he had moſt to apprehend, was from the Iriſh.

I afterwards gave him an account of the affairs of the North, and of the danger Sweden ſeemed to be in; being attacked at once, on two ſides, by the Danes and the Muſcovites. I told him, that I perceived the King was in great perplexity what meaſures to take, being preſſed on the one ſide, by the deſire of ſaving the kingdom of Sweden from total ruin; and on the other ſide, by dangers and difficulties that ſeemed to attend the attempting to ſave that kingdom: that I knew the king would reſolve nothing without conſulting with his Royal Highneſs, which I reckoned I ſhould very quickly have orders to do; that, in the mean time, I had thought it neceſſary to acquaint his Royal Highneſs with the ſtate of the affairs of the North, and of the dangerous proſpect there was for Sweden, that his Royal Highneſs might have his thoughts about the matter, and conſider in time what was fit to be done. He ſaid, he thought it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſave Sweden if it was poſſible; and that he would be ready to advance ſubſidies for that end, which he had only interrupted paying, becauſe he found that it gave umbrage to the King; but that the ſtate of the affairs of that kingdom being changed by the death of the King of Sweden, he would be ready to do, in that matter, and in all the other affairs of the North, what the King ſhould think moſt adviſeable. I thought it was fit to feel the Regent's pulſe upon this ſubject. I afterwards tried the Abbé du Bois in the ſame manner. He ſaid plainly, that the Regent neither could nor would give a penny of money; that he was up to the neck already, and could go no farther. I ſaid, I reckoned the King would do as the Regent did, whatever that was; and that we had ſtronger reaſons to act with caution in that matter, and not to in-

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volve ourſelves in the ruin that ſeemed to threaten their old ally. I told him that I had ſaid a word to the Regent of the dangerous ſituation that kingdom ſeemed to be in, and of the difficulties there would be to ſave it; and that I had recommended it to his Royal Highneſs to think of that matter. He aſked what the Regent had ſaid. I told him, that his Highneſs ſeemed to be in pain for Sweden; and that he would think of that matter ſeriouſly, and ſpeak to me again. I did not think fit to tell the Abbé what the Regent had ſaid; becauſe I had found him diſpoſed to make an ill uſe of confidence made him of the like nature.

I ſpoke to the Regent, at the ſame time, of the meaſures to be taken with the Dutch. He aſked me, if it was my opinion that the beſt way to deal with them was to threaten to interrupt their commerce with Spain. I told him, verily I believed it was. Well, if that be ſo, we muſt threaten them; and he ſaid, he would ſend orders to Monſieur de Morville to do in that matter as Lord Cadogan ſhould have orders to do. I told him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to go hand in hand; and at the ſame time, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, that if we did threaten, we ſhould put thoſe threats into execution.

Then we talked of the affairs of Spain. I told him I thought it was very ſtrange that the Spaniards, being diſappointed in all their projects, did not begin to talk of peace, and to make overtures. He ſaid, he had reaſons to think they would do ſo very quickly; that the Abbé Landi, the Duke of Parma's Miniſter, had received a courier from his Maſter, and had deſired to ſpeak with the Abbé du Bois that afternoon; that what made him believe that he had ſome overtures of peace to make, was becauſe he knew that the Duke of Parma had received a courier from Spain; and that, if the Abbé made any overtures, I ſhould be immediately informed. The Abbé du Bois afterwards told me the ſame ſtory.

Paris, Auguſt 10th, 1719.

MONSIEUR de Crampredon ſets out to-night, and carries with him three hundred thouſand rixdollars in lingots of gold. The Regent has behaved himſelf exceeding well in this matter. He told me, that though the Abbé du Bois had been of another opinion, he himſelf had not varied from what he told me; which was, that it was diſhonourable in France, not to aſſiſt ſuch an ally as Sweden had been, when that Crown was in ſuch extreme danger as it happened to be at preſent. The Regent told me very obligingly, that another reaſon which principally determined him to aſſiſt Sweden, was the engagements he ſaw the King had taken to ſupport that Crown, and that he was very glad to give countenance to his Majeſty's meaſures, and to ſupport them as much as lay in his power.

Our friend the Abbé is now forward and active in diſpatching this matter, and takes all the merit of it to himſelf. I am very well pleaſed to let him do ſo; and do not ſeem to remember one word of what he formerly ſaid to me on that ſubject. We are embarked; God ſend us good ſucceſs. If Sweden is able to do any thing to help themſelves, we ſhall ſave them. We hear the Czar's fleet is in what they call the river of Stockholm; but it does not enter into my head that the Czar will venture to land his army; it is riſking both his army and his fleet to be undone.

There is one thing I think we ſhould take great care of; and that is, to have an engagement from the King of Denmark, that he will not join his fleet with the Czar's, which probably he would be glad to give, that we may not diſturb him in his operations againſt Sweden. If the King of Denmark gives us the ſecurity we deſire, as to his fleet, any progreſs he can make in the province of Dallie is of no conſequence, and may ſerve to make the peace between the

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King of Denmark and Sweden more practicable. For Denmark, to preſerve the little province of Dallie, which covers Norway, will make no manner of difficulty to give up Pomerania. And, as things ſtand at preſent, I do not know but it is as good that Sweden ſhould have a foot in the Empire as not, to keep the King of Pruſſia in check, who will certainly be at any body's ſervice to do miſchief, who has money to give, or advantages to offer.

The Marquis Scotti * is arrived here this morning. I believe he has no great matters to offer, further than ſuch general diſcourſes as the Cardinal has all along flung out. His Eminency is too full at preſent of hopes from the North, and from Sicily, to make any propoſals that can be liſtened to; and the Regent does not, at preſent, ſeem to be in a diſpoſition to let himſelf be amuſed. He is more poſitive than ever, that there can be no good peace; no peace that is not more dangerous than the war, without ſending away Alberoni; and I do now verily believe that he will enter into the neceſſary engagements with the people of Spain to determine them to take arms for the recovery of their privileges.

I am glad you are of opinion to receive the Dutch into the quadruple alliance, upon the conditions they offer. Their acceſſion in that manner, will have all the effect we can propoſe from it; which is, the reputation of having them embarked in the ſame quarrel. And indeed, what they offer is as much as what France does at this very time. This Court will certainly accept of what the Dutch offer; for they were for having their acceſſion at any rate; and would have ſigned with the explication the States gave. I am glad of this expedient for another reaſon; and that is, becauſe it takes the odium of hard meaſures from off our backs, where the French very adroitly laid it.

* The Miniſter of the Duke of Parma at Madrid, and for ſome time a great favourite of the Queen of Spain.

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This affair of * Guypoſcoa is a very lucky one. If the French give their guarantee, it will be a leading card for all the reſt of the provinces of Spain. If they refuſe it, which I do not believe they will, it will ſhew us plainly what we have to expect.

You may take it for granted, that the King of Pruſſia will not ſign with us, till he ſees what becomes of the Czar's negociations and expedition.

My dear Craggs, Paris, Auguſt 20th, 1719.

ALL our fine projects for this campaign are overturned at once. Monſieur de Belleiſle, Marſhal de Camp, arrived yeſterday morning from the Marechal de Berwick, with the news, that it was impracticable to carry the caſtle of St. Sebaſtian by force, and that the ſiege muſt be turned into a blockade, which would require ſixteen battalions; ſo that there would not be foot enough left to execute the project of entering into Arragon. I do not know what reſolution the Regent has come to, for the operations of the reſt of the campaign. I reckon it will be to take poſſeſſion of all Biſcay, and to eſtabliſh winter quarters there. If this *contretemps* would encourage Alberoni to ſtand out, I ſhould be very glad on it; for I ſhould be ſorry to make peace before we had made ourſelves a little the better for the war; which, I think, might eaſily be contrived, more ways than one, if right meaſures are taken in time.

The Regent, ſome days ago, ſeemed firmly reſolved to make no peace with Spain, without having Alberoni ſent away in the firſt place. I do not know how far this unforeſeen diſappointment may make him change his mind; though I think it ſhould not.

* Some offers made from that province to connect themſelves with France.

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Miſſiſippi begins to ſtagger; the actions fall, and there are no more buyers; which has happened by Law's imprudence, and boundleſs deſire of gain. He had raiſed the actions to ſuch a price, that it required above forty millions to pay the intereſt at four *per cent.* When the French, by degrees, began to make this calculation, and found that it was impoſſible that ever the King could find his account to furniſh ſuch a ſum annually to ſupport Miſſiſippi, they found themſelves cheated; and they are now crowding to ſell out. Law will do what he can to ſupport the actions, but the thing is impoſſible. The myſtery of the matter is this; in the original fund of one hundred millions, the King and the Regent had about forty millions; and the ſame proportion of additional ſubſcription of fifty millions. The company bought the coinage of the King at fifty millions, to be paid in fifteen months. Beſides theſe fifty millions, the King or the Regent, by ſelling out when the actions were at four hundred, might have got two hundred millions; at which rate they might have been ſupported. But by buoying them up to ſix hundred, to make the Regent win three hundred millions, Law riſks to have the whole fabric tumble to the ground. For the French, who run on boldly and impetuouſly in the beginning of all enterprizes, run back with the ſame impetuoſity when once they are rebuffed. I do not know if I have explained this matter to you, ſo as that you will be able to underſtand. It is, certainly, ſomething more extravagant, and more ridiculous, than any thing that ever happened in any other country. I wiſh for your diverſion, I could but talk one hour to you upon that ſubject.

Paris, Auguſt 24th, 1719.

I STILL like the expedition to Spain very well, and I believe it will have a very good effect: but I gueſſed, by letters I had from Hanover, that they did not like it there, and that it would not be made*. So, for the very reaſon that I had propoſed it, I did not think it neceſſary to preſs it.

I am afraid our ſquadron in the Baltic will be of little uſe to us; and, to tell you my mind plainly, I do not wonder that Sir John Norris is backward. I think that his orders are given with a diffidence, that does not inſpire ſpirit into a man that is to execute them.

Paris, Auguſt 30th, 1719.

IN a long converſation I had with the Abbé to-night, he ſeems apprehenſive that Torcy gains ground; and that there may be a cloſe connection betwixt Law and Torcy, with views to turn the Abbé out. I am afraid this apprehenſion of the Abbé is not without ground; but, however that may be, I am perſuaded we ſhall quickly ſee this Court take airs which will not be eaſy to bear; and I am not a little apprehenſive, that we ſhall very quickly ſee them come into meaſures that we ſhall have no reaſon to like. If this ſhould be true, we muſt not, in my poor opinion, ſeem to take any notice of it; but at the ſame time, it will behove us to exert ourſelves to find out ways, without loſs of time, to get rid of the preſſure of the public debts.

I wiſh Lord Mar was at liberty, upon his parole to the town of Geneva, and he had permiſſion to go to the waters of Bourbon; from whence he propoſes to come hither to finiſh his treaty, which cannot be done by writing. I ſhould be glad to know what penſion you

* It was made under the command of the late Lord Cobham.

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would allow him, till he can be reſtored. He deſires his wife may be helped to touch her jointure, the payment of which is ſtopped by the Commiſſioners; without which, he ſays, ſhe will not be able to make her journey from Rome. I have offered him, for that, credit upon me for a thouſand pounds. Then he mentions an arrear due to him upon his ſalary as Secretary of State; but this laſt point he reſerves to be treated by word of mouth.

Paris, September 1ſt, 1719.

IN anſwer to the firſt part of your private letter of the 18th of Auguſt, O. S. which relates to Lord Mar; in my opinion, if he does but treat and accept of the penſion from the King, it is not a ſhilling matter to us whether he leaves the Pretender's cauſe, becauſe he thinks it a bad one, or whether he leaves it becauſe he thinks it cannot any longer be ſupported. The effects of his leaving the Pretender will be the ſame, in whatever manner he does it, and with whatever view: ſo I would let his Lordſhip pleaſe himſelf in that. It is very plain, in three or four months time, it will come to be all the ſame thing. All the Jacobites mouths are open againſt him already; when he withdraws his wife from Rome, and takes up his habitation at Geneva, he will have no party left for him to take but to fling himſelf into the hands of government; and if he ſhould not behave himſelf as he ought, what do you venture? You are maſters of ſtopping the penſion.

I would let him go to Bourbon, that he may have an opportunity of coming hither to finiſh his treaty with me; and, I think, you may depend upon it, he will agree in your way, if you do not like his. I can ſee, he begins to grow exceeding uneaſy, and to apprehend that the government has no other intention but to expoſe him. I hope the orders from Hanover concerning him will arrive ſpeedily.

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ſpeedily. If they do not, we ſhall force him back to the Pretender; and it is very plain he will have no manner of difficulty in getting away. The town of Geneva is heartily tired of keeping him priſoner; and we ſhall not be able to prevail with them to detain him much longer.

For the ſtories I mentioned to you relating to myſelf, they did not move me much. People that are, or pretend to be your friends, ſometimes think people talk unkindly of you when they ſpeak the truth and do you juſtice. I am far from being ſo partial to myſelf, not to know that I have many faults, which one may very well ſee without being an enemy to me perſonally. I know, my dear Craggs, how much I am obliged to you for your friendſhip, which goes even to partiality in my favour.

But ſuppoſing I had talents, and that I were fitter to ſerve you at this Court than another; you will be obliged to change your Miniſter. You may depend on it, this Court, with their fortune, will change their meaſures; and they will deſire to have a man here that they may be either able to gain or impoſe upon.—You muſt henceforth look upon Law as the firſt Miniſter, whoſe daily diſcourſe is, that he will raiſe France to a greater height than ever ſhe was, upon the ruin of England and Holland. You may eaſily imagine I ſhall not be a Miniſter for his purpoſe. He is very much diſpleaſed with me already, becauſe I did not flatter his vanity by putting into Miſſiſippi. I did not think it became the King's Ambaſſador to give countenance to ſuch a thing, or an example to others to withdraw their effects from England, to put them into the ſtocks here; which would have been readily followed by many. I have been in the wrong to myſelf, to the value of thirty or forty thouſand pounds, which I might very eaſily have gained if I had put myſelf, as others did, into Mr. Law's hands; but I thought it was my duty, conſidering my ſtation, not to do ſo.

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If I am not very much miſtaken, the taking of Meſſina has happened very luckily. Without that, I believe the Germans would not have received payment of their ſubſidies ſo very quickly; nor would the artillery and ammunition, which is now readily ſent, have been given. I found them very deaf and backward, upon this ſubject, many days together. I am afraid there were ſome people who thought the time favourable to make up with Spain, at the Emperor's expence and of ours; and it is very certain our treaties in the North gave no joy here. The Abbé did not tell me ſo, but I could eaſily gather as much from what he ſaid. He told me, that if ſome people prevailed, meaſures would be changed; that Torcy of late took the aſcendant very much; and that the Regent diſcovered a great partiality towards him; and that, if it continued a little longer, he, the Abbé, would lay down. I am ſure Law is in this thing; for he will be for removing every thing that does not abſolutely depend on him, and that can, in any manner, ſtand in his way to hinder him to be firſt Miniſter. Law's heart has been ſet upon that from the beginning; and we ſtand too directly in the way of his ambitious views, for France to imagine that a good underſtanding can ſubſiſt long between the nations, if he comes to govern abſolutely.

Paris, September 9th, 1719.

I TOLD you, in my former letter, what the Abbé du Bois ſaid to me upon the ſubject of Torcy's taking the aſcendant over him in the Regent's favour, and of the cloſe connection he, the Abbé, apprehended was between Torcy and Law. He has ſince confirmed the ſame thing to me in ſeveral converſations; and ſeemed to be in very great concern, and to have thoughts of laying down, which I adviſed him not to do. The Abbé likewiſe told me that there were many things which were hid from him; and that he apprehended there was ſome change of meaſures. This poſſibly might be a copy of the Abbé's

Abbé's countenance to draw me in to ſpeak. However, I ſhewed no apprehenſions of any change of meaſures, but ſhewed great concern for him. GEORGE I. 1719.

But to you I muſt freely own I apprehend this change of meaſures was very near at hand; and if this new miracle for the Houſe of Auſtria had not happened to put Sicily into their hands, I believe we were upon the very point of ſeeing it break out; but, in my opinion, this ſudden turn of fortune has given a check to that deſign. I ſhall not repeat to you what I ſaid to you in my laſt private letter upon the delay of diſpatching Chavigny. I ſhall only obſerve to you, that upon the idle ſtory that prevailed here, that the Spaniſh army had come up to Meſſina after the town had ſurrendered to the Germans; and that they had been introduced into the town by a gate, which was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Marquis Spinola, by means of the entrenchments he had made in the town; that, after the Spaniards had got in, there had been a furious battle in the town, in which all the German army had been entirely deſtroyed; I ſay, upon this idle ſtory, Chavigny who, the Abbe told me on Tueſday night, was actually gone for Genoa, was not diſpatched till Thurſday morning, after the arrival of the Courier from Rome, who brought an account of the good ſtate of the Emperor's affairs in Sicily. I do not take this for a proof; but I take it for a very ſtrong preſumption, when it is joined to Chavigny's former delay, and to many things which have occaſionally ſlipt from the Regent, ſhewing his deſire that the war in Sicily might not be ended.

Nobody can be ſo blind, as not to ſee that this Court has all along had ſecret negociations with the Court of Spain, which they always hoped to bring to bear, and which nothing but the King of Spain's perſonal hatred to the Duke of Orleans, and their mutual diffidence of one another, has prevented. Do but look back into the management of the war of Spain; the backwardneſs to encourage the Spa-

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niards to take arms; and all their ſhuffling and lying that we have ſeen in the matter of the Marechal of Berwick's full powers; their allowing the Spaniards to be aſſiſted by Frenchmen and from France; and their refuſing to come into any meaſures to ſecure our trade; the affair of Dunkirk; and twenty other things of the ſame nature; and then ſee, if it is poſſible to believe that theſe people have played us fair play, or that they intend to do ſo in time to come.

It is true, they helped us in our treaty with the King of Pruſſia; but when did they do ſo? When they were apprehenſive that the King of Spain was upon the point of breaking into France, and when they were very diffident of their own army, officers and ſoldiers. When things came to change in Spain, you ſaw how very cool they grew in that matter, and what part they acted in it. If our peace, unexpectedly made with Sweden, and Lord Stanhope's addreſs, had not hurried that matter on much faſter than was expected here, we ſhould have no manner of occaſion to give them thanks for their good offices. To judge by appearances, they were heartily vexed and ſurprized at the treaty; and I do not know but a good part of the diſfavour the Abbé du Bois complains of, might ariſe from the reproaches Torcy made the Abbé of his want of ſkill and addreſs in letting thoſe treaties be concluded. Pecquet told an under-ſecretary of mine the other day, *My Lord Stair eſt un habile Miniſtre; il fait de L'Abbé du Bois tout ce qu'il veut. Je le ſcais bien.*

If you aſk me whence this change of meaſures proceeds? The reaſon of it is very plain; they tell the Regent that he has now overcome all his difficulties; that France is now greater, and in a more flouriſhing condition, than ever ſhe was; and that, to make his court to the nation, he has nothing to do now but to enter into the ancient maxims and political views of the Crown; and to make all Europe depend on France, or to cruſh thoſe that ſtand in the way. If

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the Emperor's affairs had gone ill in Sicily, as they were like to do, and a league offenſive and defenſive had been clapped up with Spain, I leave you to imagine in what condition we ſhould have found ourſelves immediately.

I deſire, in this place, you will take notice of the attention this court has had of late to have couriers diſpatched from Rome, upon every event of conſequence that has happened in Sicily; and of the conſequences that the arrival of every one of the couriers had; and of the variation it has produced in their conduct. Before I leave this point, I will take notice of another thing to you; and that is, that this court diſowns that they had any hand in our treaties with Sweden, and Pruſſia; and the diſcourſe of the people about the court is, that the court diſlike them both.

I come now to take notice of another thing to you, which in my opinion is very much to be minded; and that is the ſpirit, behaviour, and diſcourſe of the man whom, from henceforth, you muſt look upon as the firſt miniſter; and that is Mr. Law. He, in all his diſcourſe, pretends that he will ſet France higher than ever ſhe was before, and put her in a condition to give the law to all Europe; that he can ruin the trade and credit of England and Holland, whenever he pleaſes; that he can break our bank, whenever he has a mind; and our Eaſt India company. He ſaid publickly the other day at his own table, when Lord Londonderry was preſent, that there was but one great kingdom in Europe, and one great town; and that was France and Paris. He told Pitt, that he would bring down our Eaſt India ſtock; and entered into articles with him to ſell him at twelve months hence, a hundred thouſand pounds of ſtock, at eleven per cent. under the preſent current price.

You may imagine what we have to apprehend from a man of this temper, who makes no ſcruple to declare ſuch views, and who will have all the power and all the credit at this court.

I have been told, within this week, by a man who has ever given me the beſt intelligence from the Jacobites, that they look upon

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their affairs to be in a better ſituation than ever they were in. He aſked me, if we were ſure of the Regent? I told him, yes. Then, ſays he, we are much miſtaken; for we are aſſured, from hands we think good, that many months will not paſs without a rupture between England and France. I told him, that was the ſillyeſt of all their dreams. However, what that man ſaid to me, has come into my mind ſeveral times ſince that converſation.

What I conclude from all this is, that it behoves us to be upon our guard; to have our eyes open, whilſt we ſeem to ſuſpect nothing; to preſs the Emperor, with all poſſible warmth, to make an end of the war in Sicily, and to make the conqueſt of Sardinia; and, in the mean time, to exert ourſelves with all imaginable vigour, to find ſome immediate relief from the preſſure of our public debt. In that caſe, we ſhall be able to make the execution of Mr. Law's ſcheme ſomething difficult. I muſt not forget to tell you, that the Marechal d'Eſtrees pretends in two years to have a hundred ſhips of the line of battle.

Paris, September the 23d, 1719.

THE ſudden turn of the Emperor's affairs in Sicily, and the good ſtate of our affairs of the North, has made a very great change at this court. They ſeem now to have laid aſide the ſcheme I mentioned to you lately, into which they were going very faſt. The Regent appears now to court the King's friendſhip as much as ever; he ſpeaks to me again with all imaginable confidence and openneſs; and he ſeems reſolved to purſue the plan of the quadruple alliance. The Abbé ſeems to be in heart, and to have hopes again of getting the better of Torcy. About a fortnight ago, things were ſo bad with him, that he talked of nothing but of laying down. He then begged of me that I would make a laſt effort with the Regent againſt Torcy, which I promiſed to do; and have performed accordingly.

After

After much diſcourſe with the Regent about the neceſſity of removing Alberoni, and how dangerous it might be to his Royal Highneſs, to have the affairs of Spain in the Cardinal's hands, when the minority was over, and how eaſy it might be for Alberoni to form a party at this court againſt him, the Duke of Orleans, conſidering into what hands the young King would probably fall, when he came to be Major, I told him that there was one thing that had ever ſurpriſed me in his Royal Highneſs's conduct, who was a man of ſo much foreſight and penetration, that I had forborn to mention it to him, for a reaſon which he would eaſily gueſs, when I had now told him what I had to ſay; which was, that I thought he had a ſure way to maintain his power after the majority; which was by making himſelf entirely maſter of the foreign affairs, ſo that nobody but himſelf ſhould have any perfect knowledge of the ſtate of them; in which caſe it was impoſſible for the young King to be able to govern without his Royal Highneſs. That there was but one man in the kingdom that could have it in his power to hurt, by the knowledge he had of that matter, which was Monſieur de Torcy; and that, for that reaſon, I had always thought it ſtrange, that his Royal Highneſs kept Torcy in the conſtant train and knowledge of all the foreign affairs. The Regent anſwered me, he was ſure of Monſieur de Torcy. I anſwered him, that it might very well be, that Monſieur de Torcy was, and would be, faithful to him; but, at the ſame time, that it appeared to me that prudence required that he ſhould not put himſelf entirely into Monſieur de Torcy's power; that he might load Monſieur de Torcy with honours and riches, but, at the ſame time, it might be adviſeable to break the chain of his knowledge of foreign affairs, for ſome time before the majority; that in that caſe, as his Royal Highneſs was perſuaded that Torcy had not the inclination to hurt his intereſt, he would then be ſure that he had not the power; and that, afterwards, if he found that Torcy was

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The Regent heard with a good deal of attention what I ſaid, and told me that the reflection I had made was a very judicious one; that it merited his ſerious conſideration; that he would think of it; that, in the mean time, it appeared to him that the wiſeſt thing he could do, was to follow the advice I had given him, and to break the chain of Torcy's knowledge of foreign affairs. The Regent tried me upon the head of the Abbé. He ſaid Torcy and the Abbé were very ill friends. I told him I had heard ſo; but that I did not enter into their quarrels; that my reflection was abſtracted from every other conſideration, but regard to his Royal Highneſs's intereſt.

As ſoon as this converſation was ended, I gave an account of it to the Abbé, who received it with great pleaſure. He was in the greateſt apprehenſion that Mr. Law, in conjunction with Torcy, had a mind to turn him out. The Abbé is now labouring hard to make his project to bear, to accommodate the affair of the conſtitution. The Abbé's project is to prevail with the Cardinal de Noailles, to accept of terms to be propoſed by the neutral Biſhops, which he ſays, are very advantageous to the appellants; but, at the ſame time, they are very agreeable to the court of Rome; to that degree, that, if the project ſucceeds, the Abbé is to have the hat without the nomination of either the Emperor or France; and of this the Abbé thinks himſelf well aſſured. To facilitate this project, the preſent Nuncio is recalled, and another is to be ſent in his place. The Abbé, who has many letters of the Nuncio, in which he talks very indiſcreetly of the Regent, to ingratiate himſelf with the Nuncio, prevailed with the Regent not to inſiſt upon his being recalled and excluded from the promotion of Cardinals to be made. So he is to go home, by the Pope's order, and is to be Cardinal at the firſt promotion. But the Abbé's civilities have had no effect; for the Nuncio continues to write to Rome in the ſtrongeſt terms, in favour of the Archbiſhop of Rheims,

Rheims, which piques the Abbé much. This matter of the accommodation is at this preſent time in great agitation. The news of the town is, that the Cardinal de Noailles is to be ſacrificed to the Pope.

The affair of Miſſiſſipi goes on with the ſame fury. They have made a new ſubmiſſion for fifty millions at a thouſand per action, which raiſes five hundred millions, to be paid in ten months. The public has run upon this new ſubſcription with that fury, that near the double of that ſum is ſubſcribed for; and there have been the greateſt brigues and quarrels to have place in the ſubſcription, to that degree, that the new ſubmiſſions are not yet delivered out, nor is the firſt payment received. Mr. Law's door is ſhut, and all the people of quality in France are on foot, in hundreds, before his door in the *Place Vendome.*

I hope our good ſucceſs in the North will make our affairs in Parliament eaſy; we muſt in that caſe exert ourſelves to do ſomething deciſive towards the payment of the public debts, if we do not intend to ſubmit ourſelves to the condition, in which Mr. Law pretends to put all Europe. He ſays, *il rendra la France ſi grande que toutes les nations de l'Europe, enverront des Ambaſſadeurs à Paris, et le roy n'enverra que des couriers.*

The talk of Paris is, that the peace with Spain is as good as made by the means of Scotti; but I do not believe it. As things ſtand, I am perſuaded the Regent will go on with the allies, to reduce Spain, without making a ſeparate treaty. That party, at preſent, would be too dangerous; though at the ſame time I am well aſſured there have been under-hand dealings, which would have had very bad conſequences if the Emperor's affairs in Sicily had not taken a lucky turn, and if our treaties in the North had miſcarried.

Lord Mar's affairs has taken a very ill turn. Robethon wrote to Marſay the reaſons, why neither of the Secretaries of State would ſend orders for his being at liberty upon his parole, and deſired that he

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he would let the firſt people of government know that it would not be diſagreeable if they would take it upon themſelves to releaſe Lord Mar, taking his parole of honour, not to go out of their territory without their leave. This the town of Geneva would not come into. They ſaid, it was loſing the merit of what they had done, in arreſting Lord Mar; and becauſe the King had expreſsly deſired in his letters, that Lord Mar might be kept ſafe, till they heard further from his Majeſty. This vexes Lord Mar mightily, and makes him believe that he has been amuſed all this while, and that the court never had any other deſign in treating with him, but to expoſe him. You may imagine that I have my own ſhare in this vexation. I would not have him think that I had played an unfair part to him. Another thing troubles him, he loſes the ſeaſon of the waters of Bourbon, which he really wanted for his health, which is very bad. I wiſh it were poſſible to ſet this matter right.

Paris, October the 12th, 1719.

MY opinion of Lord Mar's affair is, that, upon his petition to the government of Geneva to be ſet at liberty, upon his *parole*, to go to the waters of Bourbon, and to return thither, to remain under the engagement he offered; the government of Geneva ſhould have repreſented the thing to the King, and his Majeſty ſhould have allowed them to do as they thought beſt; and a private intimation ſhould have been given, that the King would not take it amiſs if they granted what Lord Mar deſired. By this means, none of the King's ſervants would have been expoſed, and, in my opinion, you would have detached Lord Mar from the Pretender's ſervice. He is tired of that court, and would be very glad to ſave his honours and his eſtate to his ſon.

Paris, October the 20th, 1719.

AS to Lord Mar, the things that ſhock you ſhock me; but our buſineſs is to break the Pretender's party, by detaching him from it, which we ſhall effectually do, by letting him live in quiet at Geneva or elſewhere, and by giving him a penſion. Whatever his Lordſhip's intentions may be, it is very certain in a few months the Jacobites will pull his throat out. You know them well enough not to doubt of it. At the ſame time, I know by Dillon, and others, that the Pretender looks upon Mar as loſt, and has had no manner of confidence in it, ever ſince Lady Mar came into Italy. They looked upon her as a ſpy, and that ſhe had corrupted her huſband. This, you may depend upon it, is true.

Paris, October the 29th, 1719.

LORD MAR is *outré* at the uſage he has met with. He ſays, our miniſters may be great and able men, but that they are not ſkilful at making proſelytes, or keeping friends when they have them. I am pretty much of his mind. He was certainly determined to leave the Pretender's intereſt, and intended to begin by withdrawing altogether and living retired, till this uſage gave him a handle to go farther. The Pretender, I know, wrote him the kindeſt letter imaginable, ſince his return into Italy, with the warmeſt invitation to return to his poſt, which he refuſed abſolutely, upon pretext of his health, and the reſolution he had taken to meddle no more in public buſineſs. Saladin, who is now at Paris, ſaw the letter, and Lord Mar's anſwer. Lady Mar has left Rome, and is in her way to her Lord. I lent him money, for her to make the journey. He is now full of reſentment, and in moſt violent agitations. They have offered to let him eſcape; and it is feared he will take the

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the reſolution. I have adviſed him againſt it; but, I own to you, I can hardly imagine, that a man of his temper, and in his circumſtances, will refuſe his liberty, when he ſees he has nothing but ill uſage and neglect to expect from us.

à Paris, ce 11 Dec. 1719.

IL y quelques jours qu'on m'avertit, de tres bonne part, que Monſieur Law avoit dit à Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans, que c'etoit moi qui avois eté cauſe de l'attaque qu'on avoit faite en dernier lieu ſur la Banque. Sur cet avis je pris la reſolution de m'eclaircir ſur ce fait avec Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans; & je tournois la converſation de maniere que S. A. R. me dit qu'on l'avoit dit que j'etois cauſe de l'attaque ſur la Banque. Je lui dis; Monſeigneur, je ſçais que Mr. Law vous à tenu tel diſcours, et je ſuis bien aiſe d'avoir l'occaſion de prouver à V. A. R. qu'il eſt abſolument faux, dans toutes ſes circonſtances. Il eſt tres vrai que les Sujets du Roi mon maitre ont un tres grand poids d'argent dans ce pais ici, qu'il m'auroit eté fort aiſé de faire porter contre la Banque. Mais, s'il eſt vrais, que ni moi, ni aucun Sujet du Roi ait porté des billets pour etre changez à la Banque; ſi nous n'avons pas porté les *actions* ſur la Place, pour les faire baiſſer; s'il eſt vrai que je n'ai eu nulle communication avec ceux qui ont couru ſur la Banque, V. A. R. doit etre convaincuë que le diſcours de Monſieur Law eſt non ſeulement faux, mais que c'eſt la calomnie du monde la plus atroce, et la plus indigne; laquelle ne tend pas ſeulement à tromper V. A. R. ſur mon chapitre, qui ſuis ſon ſerviteur affidé de tout temps, par reconnoiſſance et par affection; mais qui tend à brouiller V. A. R. avec le Roi mon maitre, qui eſt votre meilleur ami, et votre meilleur allié; car je ſçais que Monſieur Law a dit, au meme temps, que ce que je faiſois à cet egard, je le faiſois par ordre de ma cour.

Or,

Or, Monſeigneur, ſi Monſieur Law ne peut pas prouver à V. A. R. qu'il y a un de ces trois faits vrai, comme j'avance hardiment à V. A. R. qu'ils ſont faux touts trois, il doit paſſer dans l'eſprit de V. A. R. pour un Calomniateur qui a deſſein de la tromper dans des choſes de la derniere conſequence. Mais, ce n'eſt pas d'aujourdhui que je ſçais les bonnes intentions de Monſieur Law pour ſa patrie, & les deſſeins qu'il a de mettre le Roi mal avec V. A. R.——Il n'y a que huit jours que Monſieur Law nous a menacé publiquement, en preſence de pluſieurs Sujets du Roi mon maitre, d'ecrire un livre pour convaincre toute la terre que la Grande Bretagne etoit dans l'impoſſibilité de payer ſes dettes. Tels ſont les diſcours ordinaires & publiques de Monſieur Law. V. A. R. peut juger quelle effet cela peut produire, quand un homme qui pretend etre votre premier miniſtre tient des tels diſcours. Il y a long temps que je le ſçai, mais je n'en ai rien dit à V. A. R. parceque j'etois perſuadé qu'elle ne penſoit pas de meme; & parceque je regardois ces diſcours comme les effets de la ſotte vanité & de l'yvreſſe de Monſieur Law, dont, depuis quelque temps, je lui voyois la tete tournée. Enſuite je contai à Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans beaucoup d'autres diſcours de cette meme nature. Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans à ecouté tout ce diſcours avec des convulſions dans ſon viſage. A la fin, il me dit; My Lord, voila veritablement les diſcours d'un fou. Je lui dis, Monſeigneur, je ne dis rien à V. A. R. que je ne diſſe en preſence de Monſieur Law, et que je ne prouve; apres cela V. A. R. peut juger s'il auroit eté etonnant ſi j'avois veritablement agi de la maniere que Monſieur Law a fait accroire à V. A. R. que j'avois agi; mais je me ſuis gouverné par les egards que j'ai toujours eu pour les interets de V. A. R.

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Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans me dit à la fin, qu'il etoit tres aiſé de ce que je venois de lui dire; qu'il m'avoit toujours regardé comme ſon ami, et qu'il avoit eu de la peine à croire que j'euſſe voulu nuire à ſes operations.

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Voila à-peu-pres ce que s'eſt paſſé entre Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans & moi, ſur le chapitre de Monſieur Law. Vous y ferez les reflexions neceſſaires. Cela n'a pas beſoin de commentaire.

à Paris, ce 7th Janvier, 1720.

LE REGENT s'apperçoit ſi bien des dangers ou Law le precipite, qu'il m'a dit depuis quelques jours, à pluſieurs repriſes, les choſes du monde les plus fortes contre la vanité, la preſomption, et l'inſolence de cet homme. Il m'a dit, qu'il le connoiſſoit pour un homme à qui la vanité et l'ambition demeſurée avoit tournée la tete; que rien ne pouvoit le ſatisfaire que d'etre le maitre abſolu; qu'il avoit une telle preſomption de ſes propres talens, et un tel mepris pour touts les autres hommes, qu'il etoit impracticable avec tout autre homme; qu'il avoit eſſayé de le faire travailler avec tout ce qu'il y a d'habilles gens en France, et qu'il n'avoit pû s'accommoder deux jours de ſuite, avec qui que ce ſoit, etant impatient de toute eſpece de contrarieté ou contradiction. Il m'a dit, qu'il lui avoit lavée la tete de ſes diſcours inſolens qui alarmoient tout le monde, de maniere qu'il avoit lieu de croire que Law ſe ſeroit contenu; mais qu'il voyoit bien que nul frein ne le pouvoit retenir. Mais, dit le Regent, croyez moi j'y mettrai ſi bien ordre qu'il ne ſera pas capable de me brouiller avec le Roi, ni de me deviſer de mes alliéz. Il faut que je m'en ſerve dans mes Finances; mais il ne ſera ecouté dans les affaires politiques; et je ſerai en garde contre les mauvais deſſeins qu'il peut avoir.

Je veus bien croire que le Regent dit ce qu'il penſe, & qu'il le penſoit veritablement dans le moment qu'il m'a parlé; mais, avec tout cela, un grand Treſorier tel que Law eſt premier miniſtre par tout ou il ſe trouve en place; et ſi le ſyſteme de Law s'etablit, nous ſommes egalement perdus, un an plus tot, un an plus tard. Et de plus,

croyez

croyez mois, nous devons connoitre cette nation ici; nous ne pouvons jamais, avec raiſon, compter ſur leur amitié, que tant que vous ſeres en etat de leur etre un ennemi dangereux, et de leur faire enviſager des grands maux que nous pourrions leur faire ſi elle rompoit avec vous. Sur ce pied la, leur amitié ſera aſſeurée; mais nous nous mecompterons toutes les fois que nous nous fions ſur eux en cas de beſoin. GEORGE I. 1720.

Vous aurez receu un courier de Monſieur l'Abbé du Bois, par lequel il vous aura dit, que je lui ai dit, jeudi dernier, que je demanderois à etre rappellé. Ce n'eſt pas par picque; mais je prevois, par le train que les affaires prennent, je ne ſerai plus en etat de pouvoir rendre aucun ſervice au Roi dans cette cour.

à Paris, ce 20th Janvier, 1720.

PUISQUE My Lord Stanhope a jugé à propos de declarer mon rappel au miniſtres de cette cour, qui ont eu ſoin de le publier par toute la ville, j'eſpere que le Roi enverra, au plutot, quelqu'un de confiance à Paris; ou, ſi je ne me trompe fort, ſa Majeſté aura bientot beſoin d'un miniſtre eclairé.——

——Par rapport à ce que m'eſt arrivé, je ne dirai mot. J'ai toujours eté pret, quand il s'agit du ſervice public, de me compter pour rien. Je ſouhaite tres fort, que l'on puiſſe ſe trouver bien des ſoumiſſions qu'on a jugé à propos de faire à Monſieur Law. Je vous avoue, qu'elles m'ont parües un peu fortes; & je prevois que difficilement en tirerons nous ou honneur, ou utilité.

Du reſte, je n'ai nul regret d'etre tiré d'un poſte, lequel j'ai preveu, depuis quelque temps, alloit devenir trop difficile et trop delicat pour moi. La maniere n'a pas eté trop gratieuſe: mais cela ne change rien à mon devouement immuable au ſervice du Roy, & de ma patrie.

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My dear Craggs, Paris, February the 14th, 1720.

I HAVE received your letter of the 25th January, by La Croix. I have read it over and over again, in that ſpirit and temper with which one ought to receive advice and reproof from a friend. I am very ſenſible I have faults, and I endeavour to correct myſelf of thoſe you reproach me with.

As I grow older I ſhall have leſs vanity; and it is not impoſſible I may become leſs a dupe, by having more experience; but you lay other faults to my charge, of which certainly I am not guilty. I never was a man humourſome in buſineſs; I never have made any diſorder by my private broils, and animoſities; I have ever been an open and profeſſed enemy to all cabals;—I never was in one in all my life-time. I believe, I may be allowed to ſay without vanity, I have been as ſteady in the way I thought right, as moſt people. I have been as unſhaken in my principles, and as firm to my friends, when fortune frowned upon them; yet I have always lived in charity, in decency and good manners with thoſe who were of the oppoſite ſide.

I cannot tell from what actions of mine, you have collected that I am a man capable to ſacrifice the public good, and the King's ſervice, to my own humour and reſentment. I heartily wiſh, that every body that has the honour to ſerve the King, were as much above that little way of thinking as I am.

Though I am very far from thinking I have been well uſed, yet, when the good of my country is concerned, and the King's ſervice, you ſhall always ſee me full as ready to ſupport the King's miniſters, and to concur with them in right meaſures, as thoſe who have the good fortune to be moſt in favour.

As to Lord Stanhope, I have ever had a very great value and eſteem for him; and I have, upon all occaſions, endeavoured to give him the ſincereſt proofs of my friendſhip, and faithful attachment to him; and I dare ſay it, with great truth, that I have not given him

him the leaſt reaſon to complain of me perſonally. I am ſorry if I have not been able to deſerve his eſteem, but I am ſure I have deſerved his friendſhip, at leaſt his good will. What has happened lately, I own to you, has piqued me very much, eſpecially the manner of doing it; but I reckon, that has proceeded from his views as a miniſter, in which I frankly declare unto you, I think he has been very much miſtaken. I ſhall readily agree with you, that if his Lordſhip has gained Mr. Law, and made him lay aſide his ill will, and ill deſigns againſt his country, he did very right to make all ſort of advances to him; to give his ſon * a regiment; to engage to bring Lord Banbury into the Houſe of Lords; to ſacrifice the King's Ambaſſador to him. If I had thought Mr. Law to be gained, I ſhould very readily have adviſed to do all theſe very things, and a great deal more. But, if his Lordſhip has not gained Mr. Law, I am afraid we ſhall not find our acconnt in Lord Stanhope's ſupporting him, when he was ready to fall; in making him firſt miniſter; and in deſtroying the perſonal credit I had with the Regent, and recalling me from this court, where my long ſtay ſhould have enabled me to be better able to judge of their deſign, and of their ways of working, than a ſtranger of greater capacity could probably be. A little time will ſhew who has judged righteſt. I do moſt heartilly wiſh, for the good of my country, that I may be found to have framed a wrong judgment; but I own to you, I have ſeen nothing yet to make me change my opinion, but on the contrary new things every day to confirm me, that Mr. Law's deſigns, and the views of this court, are juſt what I repreſented them to be. You do me great wrong if you ſay, that I adviſed to break with the Regent, if he did not agree to part with Mr. Law. You will find no ſuch thing in any of my letters. You will find there, that I thought it was uſeful to endeavour to ſhake Mr. Law's credit with his maſter; to make his maſter jealous of Mr. Law's ambition, and apprehenſive of the

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* Lord Wallingford, who married Law's daughter.

GEORGE I. 1720. dangers his preſumption might lead him into; and that I thought it was fit to ſtand in his way, as much as it was poſſible, to hinder him to gain an abſolute power over the Regent's mind, and to obſtruct his becoming firſt miniſter. I thought it was fit, to make Mr. Law loſe temper, and to make him act in paſſion and rage. I had not ſucceeded in all theſe views when Lord Stanhope arrived, and thought fit to demoliſh me and all my works at once.

You will find beſide in my letters, that I adviſed with more warmth than poſſibly became a man of ſo little weight as I am, to think of ſpeedy ways to put the payment of the public debts into a method, as the only ſure way to avert the dangers which I took to be imminent, and the only way to procure a good underſtanding between our court and that of France. Theſe things you will find in my letters.

But you do me greater wrong, when you ſay, that the repreſentations I made of the dangers we were in, proceeded only from my reſentment againſt particular perſons. Theſe are cruel inſinuations to be made to one's maſter, and to their country. I am very ſorry to ſee, by letters from people at London to their friends, that ſuch methods are uſed againſt me. I muſt ſay, I have, in all reſpects, deſerved fairer uſage; and, if this continues, I ſhall be obliged to ſpeak in my own juſtification. I am not afraid that my actions ſhould be ſet in a true light, though it is very hard that what miniſters write in private letters ſhould be propaled, and that the court, from whence they write, ſhould be acquainted with the intelligence they give. At this rate, you will find it hard to get Ambaſſadors to ſerve upon ſuch conditions; and, indeed, after the uſage I meet with, I do not wonder to ſee that our miniſters have ſo few friends, when they ſhew ſo little regard or management to the people who are attached to their intereſt.

As to Mr. Law, I have no ill will to him, but as I take him to be a dangerous enemy to my country. I am afraid, time will,

will, but too plainly, ſhew that I have judged right in that matter.

As to my revocation; if it was poſſible I ſhould have a mind to ſtay in this country, you have made it impracticable. You have taken all effectual ways could be thought of to deſtroy the perſonal credit I had with the Regent. You have made it plain to him, that I have no credit with the King; that is to ſay, with his miniſters. Lord Stanhope has declared to Mr. Law, that I ſhall be recalled; ſo that is no longer a queſtion. You are under the neceſſity of ſending another miniſter to this court.

As to the manner of my revocation, I do not care to make the grimace of deſiring it for falſe reaſons. I declare to you, at my return, I expect nothing, and I fear nothing.

As to my behaviour when I come home; I refer you to what I have ſaid in the beginning of this letter. I ſhall ever be a faithful ſervant to the King, and act as a man in whom the love of his country is ſuperior to all other conſiderations; ſo that our miniſters may be as well aſſured, if I happen to be at London, of my little aſſiſtance, providing they do what is right, as if they had uſed me very well. I have no manner of itch after power, nor any manner of ambition to make a great figure.

For you, my dear Craggs, I hope I ſhall never do any thing to make me unworthy of your eſteem; and you ſhall ſee, that I ſhall ever ſet the greater value upon your friendſhip.

à Paris, ce 22 Février, 1720.

MONSIEUR l'Abbé du Bois me parlant de l'affaire de Gibralter, m'a dit que my Lord Stanhope, etant à Paris, en dernier lieu, avoit parlé à lui & à Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans de maniere qu'ils avoient cru que le Roi ne feroit pas difficulté de rendre Gibralter;

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& que ſur cela, Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans avoit encore, de nouveau, aſſuré le Roi d'Eſpagne que Gibralter ſeroit rendue; et que l'honneur de Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans etoit tellement engagé dans cette affaire la, tant par rapport au Roi Catholique, que par rapport à la France, qu'il prevoioit des tres mauvaiſes ſuittes, ſi l'on s'opiniatroit en Angleterre de ne point rendre Gibralter: que Law etoit fou, et furieux, et ne demandoit pas mieux que la guerre, quoi qu'il etoit claire que ſon ſyſteme du Papier tomberoit entierement; mais que lui (Law) diſoit, au contraire, que ce ſeroit dans la guerre qu'on verroit la bonté de ſon ſyſteme.

Monſieur l'Abbé du Bois me dit, que le blame de toute cette affaire tomboit ſur lui; & que Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans lui avoit dit, qu'il n'auroit jamais pardonné à un autre la fautte qu'il avoit fait, en nous communiquant l'acceptation du Roy d'Eſpagne: que ſans cette bevüe, la reddition de Gibralter etoit ſure.

Monſieur, à Paris, ce 28 Fevrier, 1720.

HIER Monſieur l'Abbé du Bois m'a dit, que Law et * le Blanc etoient liguez pour l'exclure de maniment, et meme de la connoiſſance des affaires, et qu'on ne luy donnoit l'Archeveſché de Cambray, que pour luy donner un ſucceſſeur comme Secretaire d'Etat. Il me dit, qu'il ne s'en mettoit pas autrement en peine, que parcequ'il voyoit, que ces Meſſrs. alloient embarquer Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans dans des meſures, qui le perdroient et l'Etat au meme temps; mais que luy, l'Abbé, etoit obligé de ſe contenir et de tout avaler, juſqu'a ce qu'il fut en poſſeſſion de l'Archeveſché, et qu'alors il diroit librement ſon ſentiment à Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans. Il m'a dit, que Law et le Blanc ne reſpiroient que la Guerre, quoi qu'il etoit evident à tout homme ſenſé, que des le momeut qu'il y eut une Guerre, le ſyſteme de Monſieur Law etoit perdu; et que Monſieur

* Secretaire de la Guerre.

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le Duc d'Orleans ſe trouveroit ſans amis, et ſans appuy dans un Royaume pret à ſe revolter, contre la tyrannie, et les vexations de Law. GEORGE I. 1720.

L'Abbé a dit preſque les memes choſes à Monſieur de Penterreidter *, avec pluſieures circonſtances, qu'il eſt inutile de repeter.

Law parle d'une inſolence ſur le chapitre d'Angleterre, qui revolte meme les François; et dit, qu'il ne faut pas, que Meſſrs. les Anglois barquignent ſur Gibralter, on leur fait trop de grace de leur laiſſer le Port Mahon.

Il y a deux jour, qu'il pria a diner notre ami York †. Il luy parla d'une maniere ſi mepriſante & ſi inſolente de l'Angleterre, que York dit, qu'il ne remettra jamais le pied chez luy. Il croioit apparement, que York, parceque qu'il n'avoit pas obtenu ſa grace, ſeroit bien aiſe d'entrer dans ſes veues.

Un homme de mes amis a dit avanthier à Law;—" Monſieur, " qu'eſt ce que le bruit qui eſt repandu par tout Paris, que nous " allons avoir la Guerre? Je ſuis perſuadé, que vous n'y avez nulle " part. Un homme qui ſonge à faire fleurir l'Etat par le commerce, " & par des etabliſſemens qui demandent la paix, ne ſonge point à " la Guerre." Law luy repondit froidement; " Monſieur, je ne " ſouhaite pas la Guerre, mais je ne la crains pas."

Admirez l'inſolence de cet homme. Pendant que ſon ſyſteme ebranlé le menace de l'ecraſer par ſa chute, à tout moment, il oſe pretendre vous mener le baton haut. Qu'en feroit il, ſi ſon ſyſteme etoit etabli?

Vous ne verrez que trop, que j'ay bien connu cet homme, et ſes mauvais deſſeins, contre ſa patrie, & le mechant uſage qu'il meditoit de faire de ſon credit aupres de ſon maitre.

Vous avez mal jugé, quand vous vous etes imaginé, que je me laiſſay emporter par picque et par humeur,

* Miniſtre de l'Empereur. † Lord Bolingbroke.

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Dieu ſcait, que je ne ſuivois que les mouvemens du zele et d'attachment à mon Roy et à ma patrie. Je vous ai parlé vray, en homme eclairé, pendant que vous m'avez traité en viſionaire, quoi que je puiſſe dire, ſans vanité, que vous aviez raiſon de vous fier à moy, et de vous defier de ceux à qui vous ajoutiez foy. Je ne parle pas de my Lord Stanhope. Je le reconnois pour tres honnete homme, bon citoyen, et bon ſerviteur du Roy. Je le reſpecte, et je l'honore; quoi que j'ay raiſon de me plaindre de luy, je n'ay nul reſentiment contre luy. Il croioit ſervir l'Etat, en me donnant des mortifications. Il s'eſt trompé, et tout homme ſe peut tromper. Je vous en repond, ſi vous m'aviez laiſſé faire, Law ſeroit perdu, à l'heure qu'il eſt; et l'Union entre le Roy et Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans ſeroit plus etroite que jamais. A l'heure qu'il eſt, il faut ſonger, au plus tot, d'envoyer un autre miniſtre à cette cour. Pour l'amour de Dieu, envoyez y un honete homme, avant toutes choſes; & un habile homme, ſi vous le pouvez trouver.

My dear Craggs, Paris, March the 12th, 1720.

I THANK you for your private letter by Lyon my ſervant, which I received yeſterday morning. Before I begin to anſwer it, give me leave to premiſe one thing to you, which is true, upon my word and honour, and that is, that I have no deſire to be in the right out of vanity; but I do moſt paſſionately deſire that you may not continue to be in the wrong. I mean the miniſters; becauſe you cannot do ſo without infinite prejudice to the King's ſervice, and to yourſelves.

Now I will allow the reaſoning of your letter to be good, taking it for granted that the facts upon which your reaſoning is grounded are true; that is to ſay, that I will agree with you, that the King was in the right not to put things upon that iſſue with the Regent,

that

that he would have peace and friendſhip with him if he would ſacrifice Law, but war with him if he would not.

Now, I muſt beg pardon to ſay two things, firſt that I never did put things upon that iſſue; and, in the next place, that there was no need of putting things upon that iſſue.

You will find, in my letters, that I repreſented to the Duke of Orleans that Law, by his vanity and preſumption, was leading him into great dangers and inconveniencies both at home and abroad; that Law, by going too faſt, and by taking arbitrary meaſures, was in a way to ruin his Royal Highneſs's credit with the nation, and to overturn the whole ſyſtem of the finances; and that, at the ſame time, Law was, by diſcourſe and his conduct, doing every thing that lay in his power to deſtroy the good underſtanding between the King and the Regent, and between the Regent and the reſt of his allies; and I bade the Regent beware how he truſted the reins of his chariot to that Phaeton Law, becauſe he would overturn it. The anſwer the Regent made me to theſe repreſentations was, that he knew that vanity and ambition had turned his head; but that he, the Regent, would take care to keep a hand over him, and to contain him within bounds in the management of the finances; that he ſhould have nothing to ſay in public affairs; that, if he pretended to meddle, the Regent would not liſten to him; and that I might be well aſſured that it ſhould not be in his power to create an ill underſtanding between him and the King.

I believe nobody can fairly ſay, that there is any thing in my repreſentations which imported that the King would quarrel with the Regent if he did not lay Law aſide. Nor can they ſay, that there is any thing in the Regent's anſwer which imports that he took what I ſaid in that ſenſe. On this foot things ſtood. I ſpoke very freely to the Regent what I had to ſay on the ſubject of Mr. Law; and his Royal Highneſs received what I ſaid in a very friendly manner.

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When Lord Stanhope arrived, he thought fit to acknowledge Mr. Law as Firſt Miniſter, and to *conſider him as a much greater man than ever Cardinal Richelieu or Cardinal Mazarin had been*; to tell the Regent that the King was very well ſatisfied with Mr. Law, and did not, in any manner, complain of him; that what I had ſaid was entirely out of my own head, and without, and even contrary to orders; and that, for ſo doing, I ſhould be recalled. Since that time, Mr. Law has acted as Firſt Miniſter, and I have had no intercourſe with the Regent but in formal audiences, to deliver ſuch meſſages as I received from Court, and to receive ſhort and formal anſwers.

In what manner Mr. Law has acted as Firſt Miniſter, I may ſave you the trouble of telling you. You have ſeen it and felt it.

For me; there was nothing left for me to do, but to deſire to be recalled, unleſs I could have prevailed with myſelf to have acted the part of a fool, or of a knave, or of both.

What I have ſaid above, I believe, is ſufficient to prove, that things were not brought to that extremity that there was a neceſſity to declare war againſt France, or to make humble ſubmiſſions to Mr. Law.

What has happened of late may convince you, I am ſure it will the world, that I knew Mr. Law and this Court better than other people do. Neither vanity nor reſentment prompts me to ſay this.

As to the charge you bring againſt me, that I have exclaimed againſt the Miniſters perſonally, and againſt their meaſures; it does not lie againſt me. I have behaved myſelf with great modeſty and moderation on this ſide. I have never ſpoken of Lord Stanhope but with reſpect and eſteem. I have writ upon that ſubject to yourſelf with great freedom, and to no other man living, my uncle Sir David excepted, to whom I endeavoured to clear myſelf of the heavy charge you brought againſt me. I ſhall not compare my behaviour with that of other people's. I know how I have been repreſented to my Maſter and to my country. I propoſe no other revenge to myſelf than

than to ſhew by my conduct, that they have been unjuſt to me, and that I deſerved fairer uſage.

If the charge you mention is laid againſt our miniſtry, viz. "That "Law is for ſetting up the Pretender, and they are ſetting up Mr. "Law; that the Regent will play us falſe; and that I have been ill "treated for penetrating theſe deſigns; that we are in the hands of "France and dare not own it; that he underſtands himſelf with "Spain, and that we ſhall be the dupes of this alliance, and of this "war:" If this charge is laid againſt the Miniſters, it ſhall not be laid againſt them by my words. I ſhall content myſelf to ſhew by my conduct, that no part of that charge lies againſt me.

Believe me, my dear Craggs, I have no deſign to enter into any cabals, nor to make any broils in the ſtate. If I endeavour to ſhew you are wrong, it is with a deſign that you may get into the right way again as ſoon as poſſible, that you may not continue to deceive yourſelves. Aſk, and take the aſſiſtance of people who love the King and his government. You ſhall always be ſure of my little help to ſupport this Miniſtry. I am not for changes; nor can I be influenced by private reſentment, which, I declare to you upon my honour, I am ready to forget, as if I never had any reaſon to complain. My dear Craggs, take my word for it, Mr. Law's plan is formed to deſtroy the King and his government, and our nation; and he will certainly bring his Maſter into it; nor is there any other way to divert him from that deſign, but by ſhewing his Maſter that it is dangerous for him to attack us. There is nothing but an appearance of ſtrength and firmneſs on our ſide, or the miſcarriage of Law's ſyſtem on this ſide, can ſave us from a war with France; and no perſonal credit that any body may flatter themſelves they have with the Duke of Orleans, will ſignify any thing to divert it. Your letter about Gibralter is very well writ, and it was very right to write it; but I will give you my word for it, it will have no manner of weight here if Law's ſyſtem takes place. If they can bully the Miniſtry,

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niſtry, or buy a party in England, we muſt part with Gibralter; and when we have parted with it, we ſhall be every way as little ſecure of peace as we are at preſent; and upon many accounts, leſs able to ſupport a war.

Now, when I have told you all theſe diſmal things, I muſt tell you ſomething to comfort you: The rage of the people is ſo violent, and ſo univerſal againſt Law, that I think it is above twenty to one, that, in the courſe of one month, he will be pulled to pieces; or that his maſter will deliver him up to the rage of the people. You may depend upon it, that he is mightily ſhaken in his Maſter's good opinion, who, within theſe few days laſt paſt, has uſed him moſt cruelly to his face, and called him all the names than can be thought of, "Knave and madman," &c. He told him, he did not know what hindered him to ſend him to the Baſtile; and that there never was any one ſent thither deſerved it half ſo well. This ſcene happened in preſence of Le Blanc. The Duke of Orleans was upon the cloſe ſtool when Law came in. The Duke was in ſuch a paſſion, that he run to Law with his breeches about his heels, and made him the compliment above mentioned. To make matters better, Law's head is ſo heated, that he does not ſleep at nights; and he has formal fits of phrenzy. He gets out of bed almoſt every night, and runs, ſtark ſtaring mad, about the room making a terrible noiſe, ſometimes ſinging and dancing, at other times ſwearing, ſtaring and ſtamping, quite out of himſelf. Some nights ago, his wife, who had come into the room upon the noiſe he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come to her aſſiſtance. The officer of Law's guard was the firſt that came, who found Law in his ſhirt, who had ſet two chairs in the middle of the room and was dancing round them, quite out of his wits. This ſcene the officer of the guard told Le Blanc, from whom it came to me by a very ſure conveyance. Le Blanc is in deſpair about the ſtate of Law's health; and the diſcredit in which he ſtands with the Regent. At the ſame time, there is

a moſt

a moſt formidable party formed againſt him, and almoſt every one who held their tongues out of fear, now take courage to ſpeak to the Regent upon his chapter; ſo that they believe the Regent is only withheld by ſhame from ſacrificing him to the reſentment of the nation.

Law, on the other hand, ſays, that if they will give him but a little time, he will ſet every thing to rights; that he will raiſe the credit of the ſtocks; turn the courſe of the exchange; ſink the ſtocks in England; and put every thing in that country into ſuch diſorder, that it ſhall plainly appear, that he can do every thing in that country he pleaſes. In order to that, he has prevailed with Croiſſet André, and ſeveral other people, who had very great ſums in our ſtocks, to withdraw their money, and to remit the greateſt part of it back into France; with the reſt, he propoſes to turn the courſe of the exchange, and to carry on his other deſigns. He propoſes further, in order to alter the courſe of the exchange, to lower the value of the ſpecies in France, till the crown is brought down by degrees to three livres; and this *arret* is to come out in a few days.

I have tired you with a good deal of ſtuff; it may be of uſe for you to know it. You will take it, I hope, as I mean it, honeſtly and kindly to you.

Paris, March 27th, 1720.

ON Tueſday Lord Stanhope arrived in the afternoon. I gave his Lordſhip all the lights I was maſter of, as to the ſituation of affairs at this Court. He ſaw the Regent to-day, and ſpoke to his Royal Highneſs, with that plainneſs and firmneſs that became the King's Miniſter. His Majeſty has very good reaſon to be pleaſed with Lord Stanhope's conduct, and the good ſucceſs of it. Lord Stanhope gives a circumſtantial account by this courier, of what paſſed in his audience.

The

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The foot things are put upon will give great credit to the King's affairs both abroad and at home; and our having a Miniſter at Madrid will ſecure us againſt indirect practices at that Court, which it is plain our enemies have been carrying on there, and which have certainly given occaſion to the odd appearances we have ſeen of late, in the peremptory demand of Gibralter. But the Court of Spain has acted with more wiſdom and prudence than was expected from them; and we have happened to get aſſiſtance from a quarter whence we had little reaſon to expect any. This riddle I ſhall explain to you one day or other when we meet.

I am very glad the King has pitched upon ſo good a man as Sir Robert Sutton for this ſtation. I ſhall certainly give him all the lights and helps I poſſibly can; but I believe this Court will be very deſirous to have my ſtay here as ſhort as it is poſſible. I ſhall be very well pleaſed to be in friendſhip with Lord Stanhope, no body has a greater value and eſteem for him than I have. Beſides, I have no notion of being hindered by any private reſentment from doing my country all the ſervice I am able.

There is one thing will deſerve your notice; and that is, Mr. Law deſigns to employ the gold, of which there is at preſent a very great quantity in the bank at Paris, to buy up as much ſilver as he poſſibly can. You have no way to parry that, but to bring your guineas to twenty ſhillings. In that caſe, if Mr. Law will buy our ſilver, he will buy it very dear. Another thing you may do, is to ſend gold to buy ſilver at Hamburgh, Lubeck, and in all the lower and higher Saxony, where ſilver is more plenty than gold.

Paris, April 30th, 1720. GEORGE I. 1720.

I THANK you for your private letter of the 14th by La Croix. It is with great ſatisfaction I hear Lord Stanhope acts a friendly part towards me. You may be ſure there does not remain in my mind the leaſt rancour of any kind towards his Lordſhip.

I am glad you do not apprehend that Mr. Law is in a condition to do us any great hurt, by what he gets by the riſe of our S. S. ſtock. Though I know that Law will brag, yet I own to you, I did apprehend that he had gained conſiderably, and that he might be able to do us a good deal of miſchief, by withdrawing a very great ſum himſelf, and by tempting other foreigners to follow his example. I ſuppoſe you know that the great ſums Mr. Law pretends to have in our ſtocks were bought in Holland.

It ſeems to me to be a very dangerous thing in ſuch a country as ours, where things are ſo very uncertain and fluctuating, to have foreigners maſters of ſuch vaſt ſums of money, as they muſt needs have at preſent, by the riſe of our ſtocks. That is a terrible handle to hurt us by, in the hands of ſuch a man as Law. I wiſh our monied men may be attentive enough to the ſecurity of the nation in this point; and that they may not let themſelves be blinded by the flattering appearances of preſent gain.

I am very glad to ſee you think ſo ſanguinely as to the payment of our national debts. It will be very important to give the world ſuch impreſſions at this critical time, when there is ſo much pains taken to give quite contrary impreſſions of our ſituation. By ſeveral letters I have ſeen from very underſtanding men in Holland, I ſhould be afraid that ſuch impreſſions might prevail there and at Geneva; which would be very hurtful to us; for both the Dutch and the Geneveſe have very great ſums in our ſtocks.

I am afraid we have not money enough, either in coin or in paper, to move ſo vaſt a maſs as our South Sea Company now comes to be. The national bank would have been a very great help. I muſt own

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I apprehend, that, if that matter is not ſettled at this time, you will meet with great oppoſition at any other time by the South Sea Company, which, from this time forward, we are to look upon as a very powerful body.

I am afraid our people in England think too neglectfully of Mr. Law's ſchemes. I own to you, that, as this kingdom is diſpoſed, there is a great odds to be laid, that it will miſcarry; but it is not impoſſible, far from it, that it may hold long enough to do us a good deal of miſchief. Another thing I dare be bold to ſay, it cannot ſucceed without undoing us; and if Mr. Law can compaſs our ruin, I think he is in a fair way to carry through his project in France. I know Mr. Law himſelf thinks ſo too, and, that being the caſe, we may be very ſure he will do us all the miſchief in his power. You cannot think that power is ſmall, conſidering the abſolute authority he has acquired over the Regent. That being ſo, I am ſure you will agree with me that we cannot be too attentive to diſcover, prevent, and defeat the deſigns he may form againſt us. His deſigns are no trifling ones; they ſtrike at the root. As to the behaviour of this Court towards ours, it will depend entirely upon what happens in Sicily, and upon the King of Spain's diſpoſition towards the Regent, which is naturally bad, and which, I have reaſon to think, will not be made better by the advice he receives from France. As to our friend the new Archbiſhop *, he will do Law all the hurt he can; becauſe he is firmly perſuaded that Law is determined to turn him out. The truth of the matter is, that Law does both hate and deſpiſe him exceedingly; and it is no leſs true, that the Abbé has but very little credit at preſent with his maſter; though his maſter affects to ſay the contrary. The Abbé, with all the deſire he has to flatter himſelf, ſees through the diſguiſe.

As to the diſpoſitions of other Courts towards this Court, if one may judge of the Maſters by the Miniſters, it is in nature impoſſible

* Of Cambray.

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that it ſhould be worſe than it is. I may ſay, without any one exception, there is not one Miniſter that believes one ſingle word that is ſaid to him. You may eaſily imagine how diſagreeable my ſituation muſt be in this country, and of how little uſe I can be to the public. For the love of God, ſend Sir Robert Sutton over.

I muſt finiſh my letter with a complaint. You know I had the King's promiſe, of as old ſtanding as ſince you was ſecretary at war, that I ſhould have an Enſigncy of the Guards, and a Cornetcy of Dragoons, for two of my nephews; which promiſe has never been made good. There has juſt now happened a vacancy of a Cornet in my own regiment. I recommended one of my nephews to fill it, and I am told it is already filled up. This ſeems hard in my own regiment, and the more ſo, that I have not had the credit to make one officer ſince the King's acceſſion to the Crown, not in my own regiment.

My dear Craggs, Paris, June 2d, 1720.

I HAVE too good an opinion of you, not to be perſuaded that you think you have ſome very good reaſons to act towards me as you have done of late, ſince Lord Stanhope's laſt return from Paris. I have examined myſelf with great attention, and upon my word and honour I can find no reaſon for your coldneſs in my own behaviour, neither as a friend, nor as a man engaged in the ſervice of the ſame Maſter, and in the ſame intereſt. When Lord Stanhope came laſt into France, his Lordſhip and I ſeemed to be entirely of one mind; he ſeemed to be perfectly well ſatisfied with me; he told me ſo, in a very handſome and obliging manner; at parting I told him with great truth, that any reaſon I had to complain of him was as much forgotten on my part, as if no ſuch occaſion had ever happened. Since that time, I do not know that I have given either you or him any offence; I am ſure I did not intend to give either of you any. I have

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but one face to my friends; and but one way of ſpeaking to them, and of them.

It lay upon my heart to tell you what I have ſaid. I ſhould be very ſorry to have reaſon to complain of you; but in the manner we have lived together, I ſhould yet be ſorrier to give you juſt ground to complain of me.

Since I wrote what is above, a ſervant of mine is arrived from England, who brings me the news that my uncle Sir David is turned out. I ſhould be very ſorry to have contributed any thing to his diſgrace; but whatever uſage he or I may meet with from the Miniſters, I am ſure nothing can change our zeal and affection to the King's ſervice.

Paris, June 12th, 1720.

I AM very much obliged to you for procuring the order for my plate; and ſhall be ſo much the more obliged to you for procuring the orders, and advancing the payment of what is due to me upon my appointments and extraordinaries, that, I believe, I ſhall be able to ſave but little of what I imagined once I had in this country.

I ſee plainly I ſhall not be able to ſee the King in England. It is a great while ago ſince Mr. Law told his friends here, that I ſhould not be allowed to have the honour of ſeeing the King. It is pretty hard to digeſt I own, if, after ſerving the King very faithfully, very zealouſly, and with ſome ſucceſs, I ſhould have the mortification not ſo much as to have my Maſter's good countenance. However that happens to be, I am very glad his Majeſty's affairs go ſo very well, and that there is ſo good an underſtanding amongſt them that ſerve him.

I ſhall be able to tell you a good many curious particulars concerning the ſtate of affairs here, which are not ſo very proper to be put into a letter. Mr. Law ſtill brags that he will make our ſtocks tumble,

tumble, by withdrawing the French effects. He ſeems more bent than ever to do us miſchief, believing it the only way he has left to ſave himſelf and his ſyſtem. How far he may be able to draw his Maſter into his notions, God knows. His Maſter profeſſes the beſt intentions imaginable. In the mean time they go on with the new levies with all the application imaginable; and I am aſſured they are giving out commiſſions for levying ſome more German regiments in Alſace. All over France they talk of a war with Britain, and the Jacobites are in greater numbers at Paris, and more inſolent. They talk of great changes at this Court, and that the Archbiſhop of Cambray is to be ſent to his dioceſe. Law's friends give out, that he has more credit than ever at the Palais royal. That may be; but I dare ſwear he has loſt a great part of his Maſter's good opinion; though, at the ſame time, he is very unwilling to renounce the fine views Law had given him. I think we have nothing to fear from France at preſent but by ſurprize; but, in my opinion, it will behove us to be very attentive againſt ſomething of that kind. It is plain, the Jacobites have their heads filled with ſome ſuch notion.

As ſoon as Sir Robert * arrives, I ſhall certainly ſet out and leave ſome friends to take the beſt care they can of my effects †.

* Sutton.

† On account of theſe diſputes with Mr. Law, and the differences in opinion with the Miniſters at home, Lord Stair ſeemed to come back in a ſort of diſgrace, and was not employed, either in the civil or military line, till 1742, when he was appointed to the command of the troops in Flanders, and Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States-General. He was General under the late King at the battle of Dettingen; and died ſoon after the rebellion, commander in chief of the forces in England.

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No. X.

Sequel to Lord Stair's Embaſſy.

From the Paper-office.

[Mr. Craufurd was of a very good family in the county of Renfrew, which his nephew now repreſents in Parliament. He was many years Secretary to the Embaſſy at Paris, where he died about the year 1725. The late General Craufurd was his younger brother. Several of this gentleman's diſpatches are preſerved in the Paper-office; and they contain many amuſing anecdotes of the French court. He was very intimate with Mr. Law, and writes more advantageouſly of him, than his principal Lord Stair.]

From Mr. Craufurd to the Honourable Mr. Secretary Walpole.*

Sir, Paris, Auguſt the 11th, 1723. N. S.

I TAKE the opportunity of the bearer of this letter, Mr. Hay, Couſin German to the Marquis of Tweedale, who ſets out poſt at ten o'clock this morning, and will, in all probability, arrive before the letters by the mail, or even the meſſenger, which Sir Luke Schaub cannot diſpatch till night, to acquaint you with the death of the Cardinal †, firſt miniſter, which happened yeſterday between five and ſix in the evening; and of his being ſucceeded in the department of the foreign affairs by M. de Morville; who was ſent immediately to take poſſeſſion of the papers, relative to that department, and will certainly be declared this day Secretary of State for the foreign affairs.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Orleans is to have a patent himſelf, giving him the power and authority of firſt miniſter; in order

* Sir Robert Walpole acted as Secretary of State, whilſt the King was at Hanover.

† Du Bois.

to

to hinder others from doing buſineſs with the King directly, by virtue of their offices, without his permiſſion; which is putting things in the moſt favourable ſituation they can be in, after the Cardinal's death, towards continuing the good intelligence and friendſhip happily eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and France.

Sir Luke Schaub will write to you particularly about that matter, having authority to talk to his Royal Highneſs upon it, which I had not, having never been preſented to him nor to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as the King's miniſter here, becauſe of this court's refuſing to accept one, with the character of reſident in the manner they uſed formerly; which, according to my inſtructions, I cannot depart from, and ſo, by orders from Lord Carteret, have delayed hitherto preſenting my credentials; having only given copies of them to the Cardinal.

The incloſed duplicate of my letter to my Lord Carteret, of Monday laſt, will ſhew you the firſt alarm we had of the Cardinal's extreme illneſs.

He was on Monday morning, at ſix o'clock, carried from Meudon to Verſailles; but had not reſolved to undergo the operation, though the day before, the King and the Duke of Orleans had ordered the ſurgeons to attend him for that purpoſe. He ſeemed rather inclined to wait death, in the ſituation he was in, than ſuffer the pain of being cut; having, before he went away, confeſſed himſelf: but the Duke of Orleans being requeſted by Shirach the famous phyſician, to interpoſe his authority in a friendly manner in that matter, his Royal Highneſs went himſelf to Verſailles, on Monday at four o'clock in the afternoon, and had the thing done.

The Cardinal ſuffered a great deal in the operation, which laſted five minutes, and cried out ſo much, that the ſurgeons looked upon it as a good mark, that things were yet entire, and every body ſeemed ſatisfied; even the court itſelf was firmly perſuaded, on Monday night, and yeſterday morning, there was more than a probability of the

GEORGE I. 1723. the Cardinal's entire recovery; becauſe the ſurgeons report was, that they had got at the mouth of the ulcer, which was in the mouth of the bladder, and found that it was very acceſſible, being only in the outward parts; but it ſeems they were miſtaken, for the gangrene had got into thoſe parts before they had put their hands to it, and manifeſted itſelf yeſterday about noon, by the Cardinal's loſing all his ſenſes, and by other marks of approaching death, ſeveral hours before the uſual time of taking off the firſt dreſſing.

His eminence had no great order in private affairs, nor even in the conduct of the great detail of public buſineſs, that he took upon him; ſo that there is a good deal of confuſion in his family, and among his clerks in their different offices; none of them, except thoſe for the foreign affairs, have hitherto been put upon any eſtabliſhment, nor, as I am informed, have ever done any thing, but prepared things, though they have had offices theſe twelve months paſt.

He could never bring himſelf to diſtribute his time of doing buſineſs, into appropriated hours and days, for the different affairs of which he undertook the detail; and ſo, ſeldom had time to finiſh any thing, but what was immediately preſſing, and remained almoſt in a continual hurry, by the great multiplicity of affairs that neceſſarily crouded upon him, in ſuch a country as this; while he let every body know, it was to him alone they muſt addreſs themſelves, if they expected to ſucceed in any demand they had to make.

M. de Morville is a man who has not been hitherto very much in buſineſs, but has been always regular in the execution of that which has been committed to him, and has a very good reputation in this country.

By what I have been able to judge of him, ſince I have had the honour to know him, I think there is good ground to believe, that he is heartily inclined to continue the meaſures that have been taken, towards eſtabliſhing the peace of Europe, and in a particular manner,

ner, well diſpoſed to ſupport the good underſtanding, that is between the King our maſter and the Duke of Orleans. GEORGE I. 1723.

I have made my letter, I am afraid, too long, and ſo beg leave only to add, that I am with the greateſt reſpect.

From Mr. Craufurd to Lord Carteret, Secretary of State.

My Lord, à Paris, ce 6 Xbre, 1723.

JE m' imagine, qu'il me ſera bien difficile de mander à Votre Excellence, quelque choſe ſur le grand evenement qui vient d'arriver, qui merite ſon attention, & qui ne ſe trouvera pas dans les depeches de M. le Chevalier Schaub et de M. Walpole; cependant comme j'ai vos ordres precis de vous ecrire par les couriers, toutes les fois que j'ai quelque choſe à dire, je riſquerai à cette occaſion de mander à votre Excellence quelques faits, comme ils m'ont eté contez par des perſonnes que je crois dignes de foy.

Premierment, par rapport aux circonſtances de la mort de Monſeigneur le Duc d'Orleans, leſquelles apparament ces Meſſieurs ont trouvés trop frivoles pour leur depeches, j'aurai l'honneur de vous les reciter comme elles m'ont eté contés par la pauvre Madame de Fallary *, qui ſe trouva malheureuſement avec lui quand le coup l'a frappé.

Elle m'a dit, qu'elle etoit venue ce ſoir là chez ſon A. R. pour lui preſenter un Memoire, de la part de la Ducheſſe de la Meilleray ſon amie, à elle; que le valet de chambre lui dit que ſon A. R. ſe trouvoit incommodé, & lui avoit defendu de laiſſer entrer perſonne, qu'il vouloit repoſer le reſte de la ſoirée, juſqu'à l'heure de monter chez le Roy, parce qu'il venoit d'etre fatigué par beaucoup de monde. M. Schaub y avoit eté entre autres; mais ce qui l'avoit fatigué

* Maitreſſe du Duc d'Orleans.

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Avec cette reponſe, Madame de Fallary ſe retira chez Madame la Princeſſe de Rohan, ayant apries en outre que * Madame de Prie avoit eté renvoyée de la meme ſorte.

Quelque tems apres qu'elle fut chez Madame de Rohan, le Valet de Chambre la vient trouver, & lui dit, que ſon A. R. ayant demandé quel monde etoit venu pour demander audience, il l'avoit nommée entre autres, ſur quoi ſon A. R. lui avoit donné ordre de l'aller trouver chez Madame de Rohan, & de la faire venir, ajoutant (ſuivant ſa bonté pour elle,) qu'il ſçavoit qu'elle ne le tracaſſeroit point, et que peutetre elle auroit quelque choſe de preſſée à lui dire.

Elle m'a dit qu' auſſitôt qu'elle entra dans le cabinet, ou etoit Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans, elle s'apperçut qu'il ne ſe portoit pas bien. Il lui demanda d'abord ſi elle avoit quelque choſe de preſſée à lui dire, et la pria de s'aſſeoir et de le tenir compagnie. Elle repondit, qu'elle n'etoit pas contente de ſa mine, et le pria de ſe repoſer; qu'elle n'avoit rien de preſſé à lui dire; et quand elle en auroit, qu'elle n'etoit pas aſſez cruelle pour lui parler d'affaire ce ſoir la. Il voulut ſçavoir ce qu'elle avoit à dire; alors elle repondit, que c'etoit un Memoire; ſur quoy ſon A. R. replique, que pour lire un Memoire ce ſoir la ce ſeroit trop fort pour lui, mais la pria de dire de quoy il s'agiſſoit; elle le lui dit, et il repondit qu'il le feroit avec plaiſir, et s'aſſoupit en parlant, et commenca à ronfler, comme elle l'a veu faire là, ce qu'elle m'a dit, cent fois en pareilles occaſions. Elle ſe mit dans un fauteuil aupres de lui, et vouloit favoriſer ſon ſommeil, mais il ſe reveilla d'abord en ſurſaut, ſur quoy elle dit qu'elle vouloit ſe retirer, et dire à ſes gens de le venir veiller. Il ne vouloit point qu'elle s'en alla, & lui demandoit pardon de s'etre laiſſé aſſoupir; elle repondit que s'il faiſoit de telles façons avec elle, qu'elle ne reſteroit pas, mais

* La bonne Amie du Duc de Bourbon.

que s'il vouloit ſe repoſer, elle ſe mettroit aupres de lui & tacheroit auſſi de dormir. Il s'aſſoupit encore, comme elle diſoit cela, et recommença à ronfler comme auparavant, mais avec plus d'embarras, à ce que lui parut; elle voulut alors s'en aller doucement, et avertir les valets de chambre de le venir veiller; mais regardant ſon viſage comme elle partoit, elle vit que ſes yeux etoient ouverts, et que ſa bouche commençoit à tourner de travers, & que ſon viſage changeoit de couleur et devenoit d'une couleur livide; ſur quoy elle ſortit de la chambre par ou etoient les valets, et leva les hauts cris. Elle ne trouva perſonne d'abord, & courant en diſtraction par tout, ne ſachant ou elle alloit, & ayant trouvé à la fin quelqu'un, elle rentra dans la chambre, ou etoit deja accouru du monde, qui, ſur les cris, etoit entré de l'autre coté de l'apartement. Elle le trouva gliſſé de ſon ſiege ſur le plancher, la tête ſeulement appuyée ſur un de coins. Chirac y etoit, mais on ne trouva aucune chirurgien, qu'un quart d'heure aprés; on le ſaigna, et le ſang vint aſſez bien, mais il ne vecut qu'environ une demy heure aprés l'acces. Dans ce tems là tout le chateau fut averti de ſon etat, et des qu'il expira M. le Duc qui ſe trouvoit à Verſailles, monta chez le Roy, et demanda la charge de Premier Miniſtre. GEORGE I. 1723.

Sa Majeſté T. Chretienne repondit rien, mais le precepteur Frejus, qui s'y trouva, lui dit, qu'il repondit à ſa Majeſté de M. le Duc, que perſonne dans le royaume ne lui etoit plus attachée, & qu'il ſeroit pour les interets de ſa Majeſté de le faire ſon Premier Miniſtre, ajoutant que M. de la Vrilliere etoit dans l'antichambre, et que ſi elle vouloit, il le feroit entrer pour recevoir ſes ordres d'expedier la patente. Sur quoy le Roy T. C. dit, *Ouy*; & M. de la Vrilliere * fut appellé, et M. le Duc lui dit que le Roy l'ordonnoit d'expedier une patente pour lui, comme Premier Miniſtre. Cela fut bientôt fait; et ſans delai, M. le Duc fit apporter le fauteüel de ceremonie du Roy, ou ſa Majeſté T. C. monta, et receut les ſermens de ſon Alteſſe, comme il eſt d'uſage.

* Apres, Comte de St. Florentin.

GEORGE I. 1723. M. de Chartres qui receut la nouvelle que ſon pere etoit mal, à l'opera de Paris, arriva quelque tems aprés, & ayant appris ce qui s'etoit paſſé, vint ſe jetter aux pieds du Roy, ou ayant fondu en larmes, il dit ſeulment qu'il etoit trop frappé de douleur pour pouvoir parler à ſa Majeſté, & le Roy l'ayant levé, il ſe retira ſans dire d'avantage.

Le lendemain matin, toute la France vint faire ſa cour à M. le Duc. M. Walpole & moi entre autres eumes l'honneur de lui etre preſentés par M. de Morville; à laquelle occaſion, il nous donna les aſſurances les plus fortes, et de la maniere la plus gracieuſe, qu'il continueroit à ſuivre les memes erremens par rapport au Roy notre maitre que M. le Duc d'Orleans et lui avoient ſuivis juſqu' icy, & qu'il n'avoit rien plus au cœur que de meriter l'amitié du Roy, en perſuivant les memes meſures qui avoient ſi heureuſement etabli l'union et la harmonie entre les deux couronnes.

Le meme ſoir de Vendredi M. le Duc fit entrer M. le Marechal de Villars dans le conſeil d'etat, ſuivant ce qui avoit eté concerté entre lui et M. de Frejus.

Le Marechal a dit aujourduy, en preſence d'un Seigneur qui me l'a dit, que lui ne s'y attendoit point, mais que M. le Duc etoit venu à lui, et le prenant par la main lui avoit dit, qu'il ne ſeroit pas digne de ſon eſtime, s'il differoit un moment à le faire entrer dans le conſeil du Roy. Que voulez vous, dit le Marechal, que je fiſſe? Cette gaſconade fit ſourire la perſonne à qui il parloit, et le Marechal en fut quitte à ce prix.

M. le Duc propoſa auſſi au Marechal de Teſſé d'y entrer, mais il s'en excuſa, diſant, qu'il avoit deja pris le parti de ſe retirer du monde, et qu'il lui convenoit de tout façon de le ſoutenir.

Tout ceci fait beaucoup de mauvais ſang à la cour parmi les Princes et d'autres Seigneurs qui ſe croyent avoir droit d'etre du conſeil, auſſi bien que M. de Villars; et outre cela, M. le Duc a ſur le bras

* beaucoup

beaucoup de brigues de gens de conſideration, pour des emplois et choſes vacantes, qui ont eté laiſſées indeciſes par M. le Duc d'Orleans, leſquels gens il ſouhaiteroit de contenter tous dans le commencement de ſon miniſtere, ce qui eſt pourtant impoſſible. Cela, joint aux pretenſions de M. de Chartres, rend ſa ſituation tres embarraſſante, n'ayant quaſi perſonne de bon conſeil aupres de lui. Mais de quelque façon que les choſes ſe tournent, il me paroit clair que toutes les parties rechercheront l'amitié du Roy notre maitre.

J'ay parlé avec pluſieurs perſonnes de diſtinction qui ont d'abord tombés d'accord, qu'il convenoit indubitablement à quiconque gagneroit le deſſus, de s'appuyer par l'amitié du Roy notre maitre. M. le Duc, à ce qui m'a été rapporté par ſes amis les plus intimes, eſt tres fort dans ce ſentiment, & il n'eſt pas à douter que M. de Chartres ne ſeroit de même, s'il avoit l'autorité, ou s'il vient de l'avoir; et ſes oncles memes y donneroient ſans doute, car ils ne ſcauroient jamais eſperer de la ſucceſſion Eſpagnole, un avantage pareil à celuy d'avoir leur neveu le maitre, lequel a combattu pour eux dans toutes les occaſions même contre ſon pere.

Les Paris auront grand part dans l'adminiſtration des finances; mais comme ils ont une aſſez mauvaiſe reputation dans le public, ſon choix d'eux pourra donner priſe contre lui, & l'obliger de les abandonner; ce que pourtant je ne ſouhaiterois pas, car tant qu'ils ſont en place, ils tiendront eloigné M. le Blanc, dont certainement les principes ne ſont pas bons par rapport à la tranquillité de l'Europe & particulierement par rapport à la notre.

M. de Morville, à ce que j'ai ouy dire aux intimes de M. le Duc, eſt à preſent fort bien avec lui; mais ſi une certaine froideur qui a été depuis quelque tems entre Madame la Ducheſſe & M. le Duc ſon fils ſe raccomode, (comme il y a de l'apparence) on m'a averti, que nous devons etre en garde contre le rappel de M. de Torcy aux affaires; c'eſt à quoy il convient aux miniſtres du

Roy

GEORGE I. 1723. Roy d'avoir grande attention, et même d'en parler fortement à M. le Duc, en cas que le bruit s'en repand.

Le rappel de M. le Marechal de Villeroy etoit arreté par M. le Duc d'Orleans avant ſa mort, et le courier devoit etre depeché à Lyon pour le faire venir, le lendemain de cet evenement; je crois même que le courier a été deja depeché par M. le Duc hier ou avant hier.

J' apprehende que ma lettre ne ſoit deja trop longue, et peutetre trop hardie, mais je repons de la verité des faits qu'y ſont recitez, et j'eſpere que votre Excellence me pardonnera les raiſonnemens qui ſuivant mes lumieres me paroiſſent aſſez naturels.

Depuis la mort de M. le Duc d'Orleans, le mariage de M. le Comte de Toulouſe avec Madame de Gondrin a été declaré, ce qui eſt un grand revers pour les enfans de M. du Maine, et fait grand mecontentement dans cette famille, & dans celle de Madame la Ducheſſe d'Orleans.

J'avois preſque oublié d'ajouter deux choſes conſiderables, l'une que M. le Preſident de Novion a la charge de Premier Preſident du Parlement de Paris; et l'autre, que M. le Duc d'Orleans a laiſſé dans le coffres du Roi T. C. au dela de ſoixante millions de la monnoye de ce pais ci.

Cette grand ſomme en caiſſe fait faire des raiſonnemens dans le public ſur ſe qui pouvoit etre le deſſein de M. le Duc d'Orleans en faiſſant une ſi forte proviſion d'argent; ſes amis diſent que c'etoit pour ſe mettre en etat d'executer un projet de finances qu'il avoit; d'autres raiſonnent differemment; le fait de l'argent eſt certainement vray, et tres commode pour M. le Duc.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre, avec grand reſpect, &c.

No. XI.

Miſcellaneous Article.

From the Paper-office.

[Mr. Robinſon (afterwards Lord Grantham) was Secretary to Mr. Walpole, Ambaſſador in France. The annals of this country will record the abilities of both, and the Editor with gratitude remembers the friendſhip and confidence with which they indulged him. Mr. Walpole had the greateſt weight with Cardinal Fleury, till Monſieur Chauvelin gained the aſcendant over him, and then the former deſired to be recalled from his ſtation. His diſpatches (were they publiſhed) would do credit to his unwearied zeal, induſtry, and capacity. He was a great maſter of the commercial and political intereſts of this country; he was deſervedly raiſed to the Peerage in 1756, and died ſoon after.

It was the faſhion of the oppoſition of that time, to ſay, that he was the dupe of Cardinal Fleury;—his correſpondence would ſhew that no man was ever leſs ſo. He negociated with firmneſs and addreſs; and, with the love of peace, which was the ſyſtem of his brother Sir Robert, he never loſt ſight of that great object, keeping up the ſources of national ſtrength and wealth. One of the moſt cordial leave-takings, which any public miniſter ever had, was that which he exchanged with the States General in 1739, on preſenting his letters of recall.]

Mr. Robinſon to Mr. Delafaye.

Fontainbleau, September the 7th, 1725. N. S.

AS this place is at preſent more the ſcene of diverſion than buſineſs, his Excellency, who has not written this week to Hanover, will have nothing to trouble his Grace with by this poſt.

The

GEORGE I. 1725

The Queen arrived here on Wedneſday morning about eight of the clock, and being retired into her apartments, remained there till one, repoſing, and preparing herſelf for the new fatigues of the day. The muſic and heralds-at-arms began the proceſſion, from the King's apartment, through Francis the Firſt's gallery, to the chapel. Theſe were followed by the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt, not in the habits of the order, though dreſt, old as well as young, in the utmoſt magnificence. The Prince of Conti, and the Counts Charolois and Clermont immediately preceded the King; the Duke of Orleans and Mr. Le Duc being employed in ſupporting the Queen. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, dreſt in a brocade d'or, embroidered in every part with gold, with a ſhort golden robe of the order, cloſed this firſt part of the *ſpectacle*: his ſtar, his Holy Ghoſt, and the buttons of his coat, were all of diamonds; and what exceeded all this leſſer magnificence, was Pitt's ſingle diamond, ſtuck, inſtead of a button, in his hat.

The Queen advanced ſlowly under the load of her garments. Her train, that was ſupported by Madame la Ducheſſe, and other Princeſſes, ſwept half the gallery. Her crown was very ſmall, and ſeemed to incommode her more by being ill ſet on, than by its weight. She was followed by the Ducheſs of Orleans, and the Princeſſes Dowagers of Conti; and the Dames de Palais cloſed the march.

The Queen finding herſelf ſick at chapel, gave her new ſubjects the opportunity of ſhewing their early zeal by an expeditious demolition of all the windows. Cardinal de Rohan performed the ſervice, as he had done before at Straſbourg, accompanied with an exhortatory harangue to their Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties. The royal couple dined afterwards in public, where the Princeſſes of the Blood were admitted to table. The evening's entertainment was a comedy and a fine firework, which laſt is ſaid to have coſt 140,000 livres; the lamps, that were placed in rows, diſtributed through the parterres of

of the garden, amounted to 62,000, at a livre each. Their Majeſties ſupped in public, as they had dined; and about one o'clock in the morning the young bridegroom retired to the myſterious part of the ceremony. GEORGE I. 1725.

There was not any viſible morning at court. On Thurſday, about one o'clock, their Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties returned to chapel, dined by themſelves in ceremony, the evening concluding with a *promenade* in the Park, the Queen in a phaeton, the King and all the gentlemen on horſeback; and the night ended with a concert of muſic and a public apartment.

To-day the King and all the court hunt the boar; the beginning of next week will be employed in receiving the public compliments; and the ſhort mourning that is to follow for the young Duke D'Aoſte will bring things back again to their uſual channel.

His Excellency orders me to make you his compliments, and I have nothing to add, but to deſire you will do me the juſtice to believe me with the greateſt truth and reſpect,

Your's, &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Fountainbleau, Sept. 16, 1725, N. S.

I HAVE nothing particular to trouble you with ſince my laſt, his Excellency having been pleaſed to ſend Lord Townſhend, of which his Grace has copies, full accounts of the audience of the foreign miniſters, and of what paſſed, or rather did not paſs, upon that occaſion. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was going to hunt; the Ambaſſadors and other Miniſters being introduced to his bedchamber, formed two lines, through which his Majeſty paſſed into another room. They had the honour to ſee the French King: the French King paſſed by them, and thus ended the firſt audience.

GEORGE I. 1725.

audience. In that of the Queen, the Miniſters all crowded together in a little chamber very much crowded already, and being named and preſented as each could make up, were at laſt, when all drawn together, found in a demi-circle, the Queen ſtanding between the two extremities. The Queen ſaw the Miniſters, the Miniſters had the honour to ſee her Majeſty; ſhe curteſied; they bowed; and here ended the ſecond audience. An arch Italian propoſed printing the ſpeeches, but methinks theſe dumb compliments procured them more honour than Meſſire Portail, firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Paris, got by all his eloquence; he told the King that the Infanta, who was ſent back to Spain, was ſo precious and dear to the Parliament, that there was not one of that auguſt company that would not have ſpared as many of his own years as were wanting to complete her age. The King continues his hunting in the foreſt, whither he is returned, and the Queen has mitigated his abſence with wholeſome and repeated acts of devotion. She makes no more of a dozen maſſes in a morning, than Hotſpur did of as many Lowland Scotchmen for his breakfaſt. Beſides which ſhe frequently retires into her *oratoire*, and leaves the middle of a party of quadrille, to throw off a ſhort ejaculation in the next room, with as much eaſe as other ladies retire upon other occaſions. This conſtant aſſiduity at prayer, &c. may prove pernicious, if there happens to be more bigotry than true devotion in it. King Staniſlaus leaves Wiſſemburg the 20th, to proceed on his journey to Chambor, which place is preparing for his reception and retirement.

I am, with the trueſt and moſt ſincere reſpect,

Your's, &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Fountainbleau, October 20th, 1725, N. S.

THE arrival of King Staniſlaus at Beuron, a ſeat belonging to Mr. Beringhen, about two leagues from hence, has drawn thither all the court daily ever ſince Tueſday laſt; and perhaps the abſence or occupation of the Miniſters, upon that account, was the reaſon of ſo long delaying this meſſenger. The French King, when he went to ſee his father-in-law, was met by him at the coach door, and conducted to the apartment above ſtairs, where the French Queen's mother attended to receive his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. There were four ſeats placed for their moſt Chriſtian and Poliſh Majeſties. The firſt interview continued an hour; the converſation turning moſt upon hunting, and the French King diſcourſing more than uſually with much gaiety and life; but it was obſerved he did not take great notice, or addreſſed himſelf much to the Queen, his mother-in-law. On Wedneſday the 17th, King Staniſlaus came *incognito* in the duſk of the evening to Fountainbleau, where he was received by the young King with the utmoſt affection, embraces paſſing upon embraces at the royal rencontre. The King left Beuron yeſterday morning, which was kept a ſecret from her moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſpare her the trouble and affliction of parting; but her Majeſty is ſaid to have perceived, at leaving him on Thurſday night, that ſhe was to ſee him no more, and expreſſed her concern in a ſhower of tears. I am ever, with the trueſt and moſt perfect reſpect,

Your's, &c.

GEORGE I. 1726.

From Mr. Keen to Mr. Robinſon.*

Madrid, April the 5th, 1726.

BY Gordon I ſent you an account of the Duke of Wharton's arrival and reception at Madrid, and likewiſe of his leaving it; which was, as I imagined, but for few days, though Ripperda would have made a merit of the ſhort abſence to Mr. Stanhope. I can now give you, if you think it worth while, the continuation of his ſtory; which is in ſubſtance that he has not been ſober, or ſcarce had a pipe out of his mouth ſince he came back from his expedition to St. Ildefonſe.

On Tueſday laſt, I had ſome company with me that the Duke of Liria and Wharton wanted to ſpeak with; upon which they came directly into the room. Wharton made his compliments and placed himſelf by me. I did not think myſelf obliged to turn out his ſtar and garter; becauſe, as he is an everlaſting talker and tippler, in all probability, he would laviſh out ſomething that might be of uſe to know, at leaſt might diſcover by the warmth of his hopes and expectations, whether any ſcheme was to be put in immediate execution in favour of his dear maſter, as he calls the Pretender. He began with telling me, he juſt then left the Duke de Ripperda, after an audience of an hour and an half and four minutes. The Duke of Ormond was with him; but that circumſtance he omitted. I told him, ſure it muſt have been an affair of the greateſt importance to his new cauſe, that could have made Ripperda ſpare ſo much of his time, conſidering the multiplicity of buſineſs he is charged with. At which (ſays he) you will ſhortly ſee the event; it is in my power to make your ſtocks fall as I think fit; my maſter is now in a poſt

* Afterwards Sir Benjamin, whoſe character wants no panegyric.

chaiſe,

chaiſe, but the place he deſigns for I ſhall not tell you. He complained that Mr. Stanhope had prevented his ſeeing their Catholic Majeſties; but I am very ſure he has delivered in ſome propoſals in writing, which are not diſencouraged; for on the firſt of May, his P.'s birth day, both he and the Duke of Liria, amongſt a thouſand other things they let ſlip, were fond of drinking a perpetual union of the Saints of the day; whom God has joined, let no man ſeparate. The evening he was with me, he declared himſelf the Pretender's Prime Miniſter, and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland. Hitherto (ſays he) my maſter's intereſt has been managed by the Ducheſs of Perth and three or four other old women, who meet under the portal of St. Germains; he wanted a Whig, and a briſk one, to put them in the right train, and I am the man; you may now look upon me Sir Philip Wharton Knight of the Garter, and Sir Robert Walpole Knight of the Bath, running a courſe, and by God he ſhall be hard preſſed; he bought my family pictures, but they will not be long in his poſſeſſion; that account is ſtill open; neither he, nor King George ſhall be ſix months at eaſe, as long as I have the honour to ſerve in the employ I am in. He mentioned mighty things from Moſcovy, and talked ſo much nonſenſe and contradictions, that it was neither worth my while to remember them, or yours to read them. I uſed him very *cavalierment*; upon which he was affronted; ſword and piſtol next day; but before I ſlept a gentleman was ſent to deſire every thing might be forgot: what a pleaſure muſt it have been to have killed a prime miniſter?

I muſt not forget to obſerve one thing to you, that is, not only he, but ſeveral of his party, before he came, whenever the occaſion happened, were full of elogiums of my Lord Sunderland, whoſe death they lament, as a fatal blow to their cauſe. Upon the whole behaviour of this gentleman, it is eaſy to obſerve, that ſome project in their favour was certainly laid at Vienna; but Ripperda muſt have found himſelf

GEORGE I. 1726. himſelf not able to ſuſtain it, ſince he was better informed of the true ſtate of Spain, which muſt have obliged him to lay it aſide till a better opportunity offers.

Wharton, Liria, and the young Jacks are yet fond of it, and if it depends on them, would now put it in execution; but the graver ſort of them are not ſo confident, nor ſo much on their mettle. Wharton was telling the Duke of Ormond, that his maſter did not love fox-hunting, but that he promiſed to go to Newmarket; to which he anſwered, he ſaw no great probability of it on a ſudden, but wiſhed the Pretender might take ſuch care of his affairs, that he might be able to keep his word. But I think you will ſee our new Knight ſtrip himſelf of his new honours before twelve months are paſſed, if he be thought worth the receiving.

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